

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY-EIGHT

THIRD QUARTER, 1954

Bibliography and the
Rare Book Trade*

By JOHN CARTER

I THINK myself very fortunate in being, as I believe I am, the only Englishman present on this historic occasion. And if the President's invitation to take part in your jubilee meeting owed something to the fact that Washington is (geographically, if not spiritually) closer to Hartford than London is, the honor conferred on me is none the less for that. It is a further pleasure to me, as it obviously is to all of you, that we should be gathered here in the new home provided by Trinity College, with the munificent aid of the Old Dominion Foundation, for the library founded almost a hundred years ago by a fellow-countryman of mine, David Watkinson. We salute today not only the founding fathers of the Bibliographical Society of America, but also those devoted and distinguished librarians who have added prestige as well as books to the Watkinson Library, and through it, prestige to Hartford itself.

Yet it is, after all, the fiftieth anniversary of the B.S.A. which we are here to celebrate. It is a celebration of no mean signifi-

* Read before the Bibliographical Society of America, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, May 22, 1954.

cance. And when, three or four weeks ago, I was instructed to telegraph immediately, for inclusion in the announcement of this meeting, some title or description to follow my name, a sense of diffidence intensified my usual difficulty in answering this question. For years I have never known, when filling up forms, quite what to call myself. "Bookseller" was inaccurate, for though I have bought a good many books in my time, I have hardly ever actually sold one. "Publisher" was for some years partially true in London, but thoroughly misleading just the same. "Bibliographer" always sounded rather pretentious for an occasional compiler of technical memoranda and commentary; and it is anyway quite meaningless—and therefore suspicious—to most of those who read the forms we fill in. "Professeur de Bibliographie" does very well for French hotels and gets one called Doctor, which gives harmless pleasure to those few of us who have never achieved a Ph.D. But its usefulness is severely limited. At the moment it would, indeed, be strictly accurate to label me as a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Foreign Service. But in the present context, strict accuracy would be (as it so often is) much more misleading than mere imprecision; for a professional in the rare book business does not change his spots just because, for a sabbatical year or so, he has hidden them under a pair of striped pants.

In the event, you may have observed that my name stands naked and unadorned. And lest anyone should have inferred arrogance rather than humility from this, let me say that there simply was not room for all my qualifications to address you today. For I stand before you as a member of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, and a member of the Council of *the* Bibliographical Society (of London).

To the formal messages which have reached you from these bodies, I take leave to add, as a self-appointed delegate from all four of them, fraternal greetings to the B.S.A., congratula-

tions on the achievement of its golden jubilee, and the warmest of good wishes for its prosperity during the second half-century. You may be younger than Edinburgh or London, but you are older than Oxford and much older than my own University's society, to celebrate whose fiftieth anniversary I shall have to survive well into my nineties.

As I descend, however, from the rostrum of salutation to the forum of exposition, I realise that the ambiguity of my status has certain advantages in terms of my assigned topic: bibliography and the rare book trade. In the first place, I have published a certain amount of work in this field, as a by-product of my business activities; I have also had to criticise a good deal of other people's published work, in my spare-time capacity as a reviewer; and I have been for twenty-five years a regular user of, and a constant debtor to, the bibliographical labors of our own as well as of previous generations, since they are the tools of my trade. No rare book dealer could stay in business for a week without bibliographical reference books; and no dealer worth his salt grudges the time and trouble now and again exacted from him by bibliographers at work. (As an author, I sometimes wish the rare book trade was a little more enterprising in promoting current bibliographical and bibliophilic publications among collectors, but perhaps that is a biased view.)

In the second place, ambiguities in the status of your speaker, or of anyone else, are as nothing by comparison with the ambiguities in the connotation of the two units of my title. In the present company, certainly, the difficulty of defining "the rare book trade" is of minor, if not minimal, consequence. We all know roughly what we mean by the term. But "bibliography" is another matter. And I must make it clear that, though I do not need to go as far as Humpty Dumpty, I propose to use the word this morning in its broadest sense: a sense recently defined by the President of the Bibliographical Society in his annual ad-

dress, entitled *Religio Bibliographici*. "For me," said Geoffrey Keynes, "bibliography must be a fundamentally humane pursuit, shedding light not only on an author's printed texts, but also on his literary history, his life in general, his personality, and should often have as its main objective the establishment of the basic and final text of all his writings."

Sir Walter Greg was undoubtedly right, as he usually is, when he said, in the fiftieth-anniversary survey published by the same Society, that we need some more comprehensive term to describe the study of books, which would leave bibliography free for its various specialized meanings. But the fact is that we haven't one, and words cannot be ordered about. So for my present purpose, bibliography must be understood as reaching all the way across from Fredson Bowers—and even William B. Todd—to Holbrook Jackson—and even A. Edward Newton.

The relation between bibliography and the rare book trade has always been, and must always be, an intimate one. It goes much deeper, I believe, than the simple dependence of dealers on bibliographers, influential as that is on both parties. Professor Pottle once said: "Our science of bibliography would be sadly hampered indeed were it not for the generous and largely disinterested service which private collectors perform by buying, and putting freely at our disposal, books which our public libraries cannot or will not purchase." I would push that contention one stage further: for where, except from booksellers and the auction room, would those private collectors get the books on which the bibliographer proclaims his dependence? It is true, of course, that this function is seldom entirely disinterested, since booksellers are not in business for their health, and what they sell is not primarily conceived of as raw material for bibliographical study. But the good ones are fully aware of its secondary purpose.

In fact, however, I have in mind quite a different factor when I contend that bibliography and the rare book trade are more

closely interdependent than we sometimes realize. I am thinking rather of that cross-fertilization between these two departments of bibliophily, that constant enlargement of scope and enrichment of texture which each derives from the enlightened practitioners of the other. And since the services of bibliographers are both more readily acknowledged by the trade and more generally recognized by collectors than the services to bibliography performed by booksellers, I should like to take advantage of my temporarily anonymous position to examine the other side of the medal.

The contributions made by members of the rare book trade to bibliography may be divided into three categories. The first is oral, seldom ponderable, and sometimes ephemeral: it is the information and advice which the dealer puts at the disposal of the collector who is thinking of buying, or has bought, or even has decided not to buy, a book. The collector may not choose to note what he hears. He may note it, but decline to be guided by it. He may even prejudge it as a blurb rather than a footnote—and sometimes of course his prejudice will be well founded. But for what it is worth, he gets it as part of the service supplied by booksellers to his bibliographical education.

The second category includes those direct contributions made by members of the trade to the general body of published bibliographical work: whether books, articles, correspondence in the learned periodicals, or a one-line question or answer in *Bibliographical Notes and Queries*—that excellent publication which was initiated, edited, sustained and largely written by professionals (I think I myself was using eight pen-names in the end); which died for lack of outside support, and has now been revived as a department in the London quarterly, *The Book Collector*.

In my country at any rate it has often been noted, and sometimes not without a touch of complacency, that antiquarian booksellers, though articulate enough in discussion or reminiscence,

develop a marked diffidence when it comes to putting pen to paper. A minority, of course, subscribe to the theory that the less collectors know about what they call "points," the better for the book trade. But even among the majority, I believe the idea that there is something inappropriate, or even pretentious, about getting into print, has been losing ground in the past few decades.

The author-bibliographies compiled by professional booksellers have been, it is true, of uneven merit, so that one prefers to remember only the good ones, like Jane Norton's *Gibbon* or Greville Worthington's *Scott* or David Randall's *Frank Forester*. But author-bibliographies form a much smaller proportion of the annual output of bibliographical studies than the average collector is apt to realize. And even if we classify Seymour de Ricci as a bibliographer who did some book dealing rather than as a dealer who made striking contributions to bibliography, the antiquarian trade may well take pride in the fact that the two most important books on old bindings published during our generation—Hobson's *Maioli, Canevari and Others* (1926) and Goldschmidt's *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings* (1928)—were both the work of professionals; and the next generation will know, what we today can only surmise, how much the revision of *S.T.C.* owes to the learning and devotion of Mr. F. S. Ferguson, for many years director of the illustrious firm of Quaritch.

Among the juniors—by which, of course, I really mean my own middle-aged contemporaries—it would be invidious to single out individuals. But I cannot omit mention of Cecil Hopkinson's *Bibliography of the Musical Compositions of Hector Berlioz*, a frontal attack on a sector of what is bibliographically a veritable *bocage*. And I must unquestionably salute the English book trade's most prolific and most vigorous bibliographical musketeer, my old friend and mentor, Percy H. Muir.

Striking and distinguished indeed have been the considered contributions of antiquarian booksellers to the lists of those few publishers who will risk their money on bibliography: the uni-

versity presses (some of them), the R. R. Bowker Company of New York, Constable of London in the thirties, Rupert Hart-Davis today. They have held their own in the pages of the transactions of the learned societies, not least in the *B.S.A. PAPERS*; in *The Colophon* and *The Book Collector*; in *Publishers' Weekly* in earlier times and in *Antiquarian Bookman* today. The Antiquarian Booksellers' Association of London is now producing an annual miscellany. The International League of Antiquarian Booksellers is about to produce a multilingual glossary of bibliographical and bibliopolic terminology.

Yet, in the judgment of history, on that bibliophile Parnassus where Poggio and Edward Johnson discuss the set of capitals and lower case in a manuscript, where Aldus exchanges views with William Morris on the merits of Jenson's roman, where De Thou laments his anachronism with Roger Payne, where Grolier and Roxburghe and Heber have kept comfortable seats for Lenox and Beraldi and Gordon Duff—in that select company, all of whom know how much they owed to their booksellers, the verdict might well be that the most important, most pervasive, and most enduring contributions made to bibliographical studies by the antiquarian trade were to be found in the pages of the bookseller's readiest and most natural medium of expression: namely, in his catalogues.

We recall the honoured names of the scholarly booksellers of the past: Obadiah Rich and William Pickering and Henry Stevens; Baer and Hiersemann, Rosenthal and Breslauer and Olschki; Luther Livingston and Edgar Wells, Charles Goodspeed and James F. Drake, A. S. W. Rosenbach and Lathrop Harper; Bernard Quaritch and Charles Massey, R. A. Peddie and James Tregaskis, Francis Edwards and A. W. Evans. We salute, as senior representatives of their successors today, such men as Mr. Percy Dobell, Signor De Marinis and Dr. Ernst Weil. And we recognize that their scholarship was commonly

applied at the most practical point for its purpose—to the catalogue notes attached to books or manuscripts they were offering for sale. When all is said and done, I suppose that this is the logical medium for the deployment of such bibliographical gifts as a bookseller may possess, whatever he may put together in more formal style in his spare time. And the proof of it may be found in the respectable showing made by booksellers' catalogues on the reference shelves of the more discriminating librarians and collectors.

It would be easy to multiply examples, but I must content myself with a handful: Gumuchian's *Livres d'Enfance*; the *Catalogue of Typefounders' Specimens*, etc., prepared by Graham Pollard for Messrs. Birrell and Garnett in 1928, correctly described in a recent manual for collectors as "one of the standard reference books in its field"; the *Catalogue of Books by or relating to Dr. Johnson and members of his Circle*, prepared by A. W. Evans for Elkin Mathews Limited in 1925, which has been designated by a distinguished member of this audience as "a milestone in the history of bookselling"; that pioneer omnibus for collectors of scientific books, the *Bibliotheca Chemico-Mathematica*, prepared for Henry Sotheran by Mr. Zeitlinger; and finally the catalogue issued by Bernard Quaritch in 1889 of *Fifteen Hundred Books remarkable for the Beauty or the Age of their Binding*, a production illustrated by over a hundred plates, of which E. P. Goldschmidt, than whom there could be no better judge, wrote that it "is as indispensable in a library as any handbook or treatise on the subject."

A good catalogue note can do more than summarize the pertinent information, biographical, literary and bibliographical. It can add to our knowledge of the author, the subject, or the book described. Whether it should or should not be used as a springboard for bibliographical speculation is a moot point, and one which I should like to commend to the attention of an audience such as this. In his contribution to the Bibliographical Society's

jubilee volume, *Studies in Retrospect*, Goldschmidt maintained that "it is the privilege of the bookseller to advance a bold hypothesis that will enhance the interest of his books, as long as it is plausible. Not on him, but on the coolly sceptical historian rests the duty to demolish what can not be strictly demonstrated." Commenting on this two years later, the then Sandars Reader in Bibliography in the University of Cambridge observed that "this would be all very well if all booksellers were as learned and as responsible as Mr. Goldschmidt himself. But they are not, and it would be an invitation to abuse by the least, rather than the most, responsible of them if such a principle were generally accepted. Yet," he admitted, "a number of bibliographical discoveries are in fact announced, and a much greater number of bibliographical theories are aired, in booksellers' catalogues every year." The propensity to think the best of one's own property is not confined to antiquarian booksellers: witness the attitude of the late Herr Otto Hupp, and of a certain famous New York library, towards the attribution of the book known as *The Constance Missal*. It is, indeed, a very natural one; and I assume that the reaction of a collector or a librarian to a bibliographical hypothesis advanced by a bookseller in respect of some volume he is offering for sale will mainly depend, first on the evidence adduced for the hypothesis, and secondly on his estimate of the perspicacity and judgment of him who advances it.

I suppose I must have written several thousand catalogue notes in the past twenty-five years, of which perhaps one per cent may have contained some purported addition to the common stock of bibliographical knowledge. I have often, but not always, resisted the temptation to air an hypothesis which seemed to me plausible; and before I resume the writing of catalogue notes, which is a much more delicate species of composition than most people realize, I wish Dr. Gallup (or Dr. S. M. Malkin) would conduct a poll among collectors and librarians, and tell

us professionals whether the intrusion of hypothesis wins friends and influences customers, or whether it has, as I have sometimes suspected, the opposite effect.

I have reserved for my conclusion a few words about a scholar-bookseller whom I have several times had occasion to mention already in this brief survey and who summed up in himself most of what I have been trying to say: Ernst Philip Goldschmidt, whose death has deprived his friends of a companion at once humane and cynical, gay and melancholy; *un esprit original* who epitomised the ancient and graceful culture of his native Vienna.

To the book world, Goldschmidt is an irreplaceable loss, in the sense that there was, and is, and perhaps will be, no one quite like him. For he was not simply a bookseller with scholarly instincts, aptitudes and training: he was a scholar who adopted the rare book business as his means of livelihood and as the platform from which to develop and deploy his scholarship. He combined, in a degree which I think both his customers and his colleagues would agree was unique, those two methods of contributing to bibliographical studies which I have earlier distinguished. His published works—*Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings*, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print*, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance*—are full of original material and ingenious conjecture, constructed with style and expressed with grace. And we shall doubtless find the same qualities in his Sandars Lectures, proofs of which he had just finished correcting when he died. These are not the *parerga* of a bookseller, to be judged by the lenient standards which the learned are, mercifully, wont to apply to most of our productions. They are works of scholarship in their own right.

And yet it may be that Goldschmidt's achievement in the strictly professional medium will prove to have been, in sum, even more remarkable. "No bookseller's catalogues," said his obituarist in the *London Times*, "were given more care than

Goldschmidt's. His learned annotations contributed much to the education of librarians all over the world." They contributed much, also, to the education of collectors all over the world, not to mention those of his colleagues and competitors who knew a good footstep to follow when they saw one. For of Goldschmidt's catalogues it is fair to say, as his old friend Stanley Morison said at his funeral, that "the series as a whole, written as they were over a period of thirty years, amount to an encyclopaedia—written by one man."

To those whose minds were open, Goldschmidt was as prodigal of ideas in talk as he was stimulating and informative in print; and no one whom he admitted to his friendship will find it easy to fill the gap his death has left. Yet both his friends and his more distant debtors and admirers may perhaps console themselves with the reflection that Goldschmidt not only left a substantial body of learned and imaginative work to posterity; he also exerted a widespread influence, which, we may surely hope, will continue to bear fruit in the work of others. We have lost the man who made E. P. Goldschmidt Ltd., of London, what it is today: one of the most highly and widely respected firms in the business among those whose respect is worth having. But we may be confident that the spirit of its founder survives him, and that his successors, at 45 Old Bond Street and elsewhere, will be true to the distinguished tradition he represented: a tradition of imagination and expert knowledge and sound judgment, of honorable dealing, of dedication to scholarship and to the humanities.

Bibliothecohimatiourgomachia*

By ROBERT H. TAYLOR

OUR esteemed president should accept responsibility for this title; after all, he is an accomplished Grecian, which I am not. However, I will make a stab at translating it. We all remember Mr. Herman Liebert's stimulating paper at the January meeting, and with a bow in his direction I will render this majestic word in English as: "The importance of *not* having multiple copies."¹

When Dr. Bühler trapped me into agreeing to make this talk I experienced the customary sinking sensation which overcomes me on such occasions. This time it was stronger than usual, because it recalled my first contact with the Bibliographical Society of America. Some years ago I mentioned to Carroll Wilson that I was collating the MS of a Trollope novel with the printed text. "Fine," he said, "will you let me have the result for the B.S.A. PAPERS?" The offer of so meteoric a rise to fame could not be rejected, and I hastened home to lard the article with footnotes and such scholarly apparatus as might render it fit for this Society. A week or two later I again encountered Carroll, who inquired about my progress. "Oh, I've nearly finished," I replied. Once more he said "Fine!" and then added the paralyzing injunction: "Make it funny." This appalling order produced in me a cataleptic condition from which I am still suffering.

And since I was reminded of Carroll, let me begin my talk by describing two of his books that are now in my possession. One is a copy of Trollope's *North America* presented by the author to

* Read at the meeting of the Society at Hartford, Conn., May 22, 1954.

¹ It may also be translated as "The Battle Between Libraries and Taylor." *Editor*.

an American friend. It had somehow strayed into a New Hampshire public library, but had found its way out again, ending up in the hands of the bookseller who offered it to Carroll. Being a lawyer, he was not content until he had received from the librarian a quitclaim deed and a statement that the authorities were fully satisfied. This correspondence remains with the book, and shows clearly that because of the transaction the library was able to purchase material it greatly preferred. The second item is Hardy's *Dynasts*, including a copy of Part II with the 1905 title-page. This volume was found in the school library of Phillips Exeter Academy, and Carroll bought it from the trustees.

One other volume of mine that I wish to mention is a superb copy of Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, which was a Harvard duplicate. Here, then, are three books that I prize, and which I possess only because three very different libraries were willing and able to part with items which they did not really want. This behavior is not as common as you might think; and it is my contention that unless it becomes more general, the thwarted book collector of the next generation will be found amassing buttons or match-folders.

For desirable old books are disappearing from the market, and almost no collector is content merely to gather new books as they fall from the press. In all civilized ages the interest in collecting, whether of books or of other things, has been intensified by a desire to establish links with what has gone before. Books represent part of our inheritance of wisdom and beauty, and our ownership of them helps to assert our continuity with the past that produced them. No matter how modestly the collector starts, eventually he will come to seek some elusive rarity which by its age and perhaps by its association will communicate intimacy with some period or personality he admires. This same sentiment is shown by the pleasure most bookmen take in a volume with a distinguished provenance. I recently examined a book with an almost epic history: it was the Luttrell-Wynne-

Heber-Utterson-Halliwell-Daniel-Huth-Clawson-Rosenbach copy. It has now found a good home—I know because I helped to send it there—but its provenance has ended. At no time in the foreseeable future will any individual add his name to that impressive list.

Now the scholar will not regret this; in *Collector's Progress*² Mr. Wilmarth Lewis has admirably depicted the pitying scorn felt by a bibliographer for anyone who thought that a copy of *Bentley's Designs for Gray's Poems* could have any interest merely because it once belonged to Mrs. Vesey. Just the same, collectors *do* feel this way, and no amount of rational argument is going to change them. It must be clearly understood that, generally speaking, the collector is sentimental, illogical, selfish, romantic, extravagant, capricious; all the things, in fact, which the other three estates of the rare book world—scholars, dealers and librarians—cannot afford to be. It is true that these groups overlap. We all know people who belong in two, perhaps three, of these categories; but even so, their interest or career identifies them predominantly with only one. Our question at the moment is the importance of the collector to the other groups and to what extent they should pander to his vices.

He is by no means as necessary to the dealer as he once was; yet I submit that few dealers as yet would care to get along without him altogether. His relations with scholars are happier than they used to be. The old gibes on the one hand that the collector never read his books and on the other that the scholar did not know how to handle a fragile rarity are no longer heard. Each benefits freely from the other's activity. And as far as librarians are concerned, let me quote a sentence from *Lock, Stock and Barrel*, that history of collecting, by Douglas and Elizabeth Rigby.³ “. . . it is a fact worthy of homage that most of the great libraries in the world, and most of the museums, were born in the homes

² New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, p. 91.

³ Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, [1941], p. 82.

of private collectors or have batted at the same source." That's the word they use: "batted." And Mr. John Carter has made some incisive observations on this point in his *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*.⁴ I quote him with especial pleasure, since you will all be glad to hear from him twice in one morning.

In America, the public-spirited tradition of Lenox and Brown has never died; and the impulse which moved Huntington and Folger, Clements and Chapin, to dignify their country, their state or their university with a monument worthily honoring their own names has of recent years been fortified by the activity of the tax-collector. Even of those many great collections which have been . . . dispersed by sale, some portions are always bought by or for institutional libraries. The number of desirable books, therefore, that are withdrawn from any reasonable possibility of further circulation becomes continually greater every year . . ."

And from the same volume:

There are more American critics than English of some of the present tendencies in American university library policy towards rare book-collecting . . . What is their concern is the growing volume of university buying in the rare book market, both public and private, which is the direct outcome of the greatly increased attention being paid to the rare book rooms on a hundred American campuses . . . Competition is a good thing in itself. But whether in the long run the rare book men in the university libraries can have it both ways is another matter. Bread sown on the waters in the shape of a liberal education in book-collecting to undergraduates may often return . . . But if the libraries all over a huge and wealthy continent are also going themselves to invade the auction rooms, the neglected parlors of stately homes, the file sets and MS cupboards of living writers and the various other sources normally tapped by collectors and the trade, it is conceivable that the time may come when they will drive their own pupils out of the market . . . Unless there is plenty of circulation bibliophily cannot thrive; and the ultimate value of the bibliophile to pure scholarship as well as to the humanities of scholarship depends on his recognition as an active entity, not as a mere appendix.

A single instance will suffice to show what has been happening.

⁴ New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1948.

I suppose no group of books is considered more generally desirable than the first editions of Shakespeare quartos. There are very few extant, as everyone knows; yet, between 1900 and 1939, fifty of them passed from private hands into American institutional libraries. It is likely that in the last fifteen years others have traveled the same road. Remember, I am speaking only of the first editions of the quartos—and I have not included any which were first published after 1622. These mournful statistics will not unduly depress realistic collectors; for a century it has been seldom that any individual aspired to collect Shakespeare in that manner, and now of course it is impossible. Not only is this true because there are practically no copies available, but because the price mounts with their scarcity. And the double effect on scarcity and price is symptomatic of what is happening to all rare books.

This, from the collector's point of view, is bad enough; but even worse is the duplication of holdings to be found in many institutions. These are generally the result of gifts or bequests—bequests so hedged about with threats and penalties, if any volume should be disposed of, that the librarian cannot release the duplicates. At least, not until a decent interval of time has elapsed. I have heard it said that in matters of testamentary disposition the word "forever" means "two years"; and I commend this idea to the study of librarians and their lawyers.

It is doubtless invidious to name any of these repositories of duplicates, but, as you would recognize them anyway, I may as well get on with it. Indeed, it is possible that all of our older libraries have duplicates which they may not part with, though I will limit myself to a few instances in the field of English literature. The New York Public Library, for example, has five copies of the First Folio. I don't know that the trustees would be especially eager to get rid of any of them, even if they could; still, once in a while those same trustees do try to raise money. And the Berg Collection in the same institution has two copies of

Tamerlane, two of Bryant's *Embargo* in the original binding, two of Browning's *Pauline*, three of the Kilmarnock Burns, and six *Pickwicks* in parts. (The seventh copy lacks one part, so I pass over that.) Of course, unless work has been done on all these duplicates, it would be foolish to sell them; but after a careful examination has proved the extra copies to be identical, it would be equally foolish to keep them.

The Folger Library, as all the world knows, has a great number of Shakespeare Folios, which, with magnificent planning, were gathered together for the purpose of scholarship. At some time or other, all of them will have been collated and some will be found to be exact duplicates. It will be interesting to observe whether they will remain together just because it was once desirable to have them under one roof.

I do not know how many copies of *Paradise Lost* are essential to an institution's well-being; but the library of the University of Illinois has numerous copies of each issue, assembled for Professor Fletcher's monumental work.⁵ Now that his work is published, the reason for that concentration has vanished—but there has been no rush to put any of the Illinois copies on the market. It is enough to make one question the value of state-supported education.

Let us turn to happier thoughts: the Huntington sales of duplicates, for instance. And of course even in these degenerate days there are occasional bright spots, as witness the three books with which I began this talk. And we must not forget the Pierpont Morgan Library, whose trustees have decided against the purchase of any printed rarity a copy of which is available in some other New York City institution. This decision, I feel, is splendid. It comes a little late, perhaps, but there is more rejoicing in the collector's heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over

⁵ Harris Francis Fletcher, ed., *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile, A Critical Text Edition*. . . Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1943-1948. 4 vols.

the ninety-and-nine libraries that don't buy rare books. Such a policy will not enlarge the circulation which Mr. Carter mentions as necessary to bibliophily, but at any rate it will not decrease it.

To be sure, there exists a minimal circulation out of libraries: a book that seems to have found its final resting place *may* be moved. Very occasionally, a librarian will admit that a book under his charge might have a more suitable home elsewhere; and, less often, steps are actually taken to see that it does go elsewhere, rather like the bones of Napoleon being transferred from St. Helena to the Invalides. Under the circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that "elsewhere" invariably means another institution.

But this is not constructive. Instead, let me urge on rare-book librarians, especially those whose institutions are comparative newcomers in the field, the following considerations:

1. That they make sure every item has a good reason for remaining on their shelves.
2. That all of them do not try to accumulate everything. Even Huntington limited himself to three areas, and it is no longer possible to collect on the scale that he did.
3. That when their fields are decided on, they make the library's aims known to present and potential benefactors.
4. That they explain to such benefactors the hampering nature of gifts or bequests with elaborate restrictions—and, if needful, have the courage to refuse them. It might be useful to suggest to some donors that their books could be sold for the benefit of the library; and, if they are seeking some form of immortality, to remind them that the names of Britwell, Huth and Clawson are probably better known in the book world than those of Spencer, Coe and Parrish. Often the name on an auction catalogue endures as well as though it were carved on a lintel; and the sale price of a collection would benefit many a library more than would the collection itself.
5. And finally, that each librarian whose institution is in any way dependent upon individual benefactors ask himself whether those individuals would be as helpful if none of them were collectors.

It is the libraries who now have the whip hand, and who can

determine, in these days of increasing socialism, how far private enterprise in this field is to be encouraged. For the collecting streams are being fished out, and they will have to be restocked somehow if collecting is to continue as it has in the past. I am well aware that this is a venerable complaint. Nearly every collector has at some point moaned that he will never be able to get any really important books. Certainly we need go back no further than Harry Elkins Widener, who, according to A. E. Newton, lamented, "Mr. Morgan and Mr. Huntington are buying up all the books, and Mr. Bixby is getting the manuscripts. When my time comes—if it ever does—there will be nothing left for me—everything will be gone!"⁶ Our grief at this outcry can be mitigated by recalling that he did manage to secure the Van Antwerp First Folio, the Countess of Pembroke's copy of the *Arcadia*, the dedication copy of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and many similar items.

Nevertheless, I repeat that wail, familiar as it may be. Books are being absorbed by institutions at a greater rate than ever before, and the pace seems always to accelerate. Mr. Wilmarth Lewis does not think that the Farmington Plan will be used in this field. "It is too much to expect," he says, "that libraries will transfer their rariora in any wholesale manner." Yet eventually what other solution will there be? The number of demands continues to increase. In the last three years the Davison books have gone to Wesleyan, the Lewis to Texas Christian, and the Philips—or perhaps I should say the Wilmerding—to Haverford. In at least two of these places accommodation had to be built especially to receive the collections, showing that these colleges had not previously contemplated this type of acquisition. And at least two of them have promised that their new rare bookrooms will not be mere showcases, but will be centers for study as well as for further accumulation. Truly, of buying many books there is

⁶ A. Edward Newton, *The Amenities of Book-Collecting and Kindred Affections* (Boston, The Atlantic Monthly Press, [c1918]), p. 352.

no end—or of plans for buying them, anyway. Robert Hoe's query has more significance for these times than it did for his own: "If the great libraries of the past had not been sold, where would I have found my books?" And where will the libraries find them now? But answer, as the poet observes, came there none; and this was scarcely odd, because they'd eaten every one.

If by any chance anyone present should think that this disquisition has appeared slightly biased, that it has not seemed purely objective, he would be quite right. But do not think that I contemplate spoiling the Egyptians. It is impossible to overestimate the value of the great institutional libraries that enrich this country; and the fact that many of them were created in the last fifty years is a tribute to the foresight and generosity of the past generation, and to the energy and skill of those who have followed. I myself shall always be grateful for the many kindnesses shown me by librarians and for the friendships I have made among them. At least, they were my friends up till now. But whether or not they have begun to regard me with suspicion, I am certain they will agree with a dealer who was irritated by some remark I once made in the course of an argument. "The trouble with you," he said, turning on me bitterly, "the trouble with you is that you're just like every other God-damned collector." And, ladies and gentlemen, I don't ask for any better tribute.

James Hammond Trumbull, Bibliographer of Connecticut*

By DONALD B. ENGLEBY

WHEN I was asked by your President to tell you something about the Trinity College and Watkinson libraries, it seemed to me that I should let this handsome new structure speak for itself, and that I could do nothing better than to devote the major share of the time at my disposal to an account of the one man who was most responsible for the Watkinson Library, and whose lifetime of bibliographical labors brought about the favorable library situation which we enjoy on this campus today.

James Hammond Trumbull was born in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1821, the son of Gurdon Trumbull. His grandfather was John Trumbull, a kinsman of the first Governor, Jonathan Trumbull, on whose invitation he came from Massachusetts to Norwich in 1773 to establish a weekly newspaper for the Sons of Liberty. Gurdon succeeded the father as a newspaper editor, publishing *The Journal of the Times* and then *The Impartial Journal*, both in Stonington. He was one of the band of volunteers who in August, 1814, defended Stonington against a British squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Hardy. He became established as a merchant following the War of 1812, and was active in the seal and whale fisheries then being developed in Stonington. Gurdon also found time to become an accomplished antiquarian and authority on local history, especially of New London County.

* Read at the meeting of the Society at Hartford, Conn., May 22, 1954.

It is recorded that the son, James Hammond, was frail of health in childhood, and spent much time indoors in his early life. However, he was able to leave home to prepare for college at Tracy's Academy in Norwich, and he entered Yale in 1838. He was seventeen at this time, but was described as having mental attainments and capacities superior to most of his class. By his junior year, however, the strain of overwork had forced him to drop out of college. Returning to Stonington, he pursued the independent study of natural history under the guidance and encouragement of his father. Environment and heredity both helped to account for his early interest in nature. His father was noted as a painter of birds and fish, in addition to his other accomplishments, and Stonington was a favorable locale for nature study, situated as it was close to the sea. Trumbull collected all types of rare and curious objects found in the countryside and on the shore, or brought back to the busy port by sea captains. It was his shell collection which prospered most, and through his steadily increasing correspondence it soon became known as one of the most complete in the country. Asa Gray and Benjamin Silliman were numbered among his correspondents, and this before he was twenty.

An account of his early scientific interests is found in a biographical sketch of Trumbull presented before the National Academy of Sciences in 1911.

Among those with whom he was in frequent communication was Rev. James H. Linsley, of Milford, Conn., who, compelled by failing health to retire from the ministry, had devoted himself to the study of natural history, acquiring an extended knowledge of the fauna of Connecticut. Mr. Linsley was a member of the Yale Natural History Society, which had been formed not long before Trumbull entered college, and read several papers before it embodying the results of his investigations.

At the time of Trumbull's entrance to college, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., was the secretary and treasurer of the society, and the relationship to him would naturally have brought them into familiar acquaintance. It seems very probable that Trumbull must have been present at some of the meet-

ings of the society while in college and have had access to its collections and library. However this may have been, he became known to it, and was nominated a corresponding member in April, 1842. It is a significant fact that among the most valuable series in the library of the society was a set of Kiener's *Coquilles*, of which the greater part was acquired during the year 1839, the remainder early in the following year. This had been obtained at an expense that appears very considerable, having in view the limited resources of the society. Very probably we may here discover an important influence in determining his taste for the study of conchology, which for a time had such a predominant attraction for him, and which he pursued so successfully. Mr. Linsley had been a member of the society since 1837, and, in April, 1842, he read before it a paper which was a catalogue of the Mammalia of Connecticut. This was published in the *American Journal of Science* the same year, and was followed by similar catalogues of the birds, 1843; the fishes, 1844; the reptiles, 1844, and the shells. The latter was published in 1845, after the death of Mr. Linsley, which occurred in December of the preceding year. The catalogues were copiously annotated, with curious and interesting observations, many of the notes having been furnished by Trumbull, with whom the author was in constant correspondence. The catalogue of the shells was especially enriched by his contributions, nearly one-third of the entries being attributed to him, and among them two new species which were named for him by Mr. Linsley.¹

Trumbull soon became devoted to the history of New England and particularly of his home state. In 1847, at twenty-six, he moved to Hartford to become a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, a position which he held until 1852. Here his taste for local history led him to investigations on his own account in the original documents to which he had access. He soon found that they were in great disorder, a situation not uncommon in archival collections of that day, and set about organizing, then editing and reproducing the more important documents. In all, he brought out three volumes called *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, covering the years 1639 to 1689. A combi-

¹ Arthur W. Wright, "Biographical Memoir of James Hammond Trumbull 1821-1897," in *National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs*, VII (1911), [143]-148.

nation of transcripts and luminous explanatory notes, they form a permanent contribution to the earliest history of Connecticut as a colony. The series was continued to completion under the editorship of Charles J. Hoadly, librarian of Trinity for one year, and then the second State Librarian for a period of forty-five years. (I should note here that the first volumes compiled by Trumbull were compiled and edited on his own time and without pay.) The three volumes in six parts on display here today comprise his own interleaved copy, full of historical and genealogical notes resulting from a lifetime of study.

By 1850 Trumbull's stature was such that Yale had enrolled him as a graduate with his original class of 1842, despite his failure to complete the prescribed course, and had awarded him a Master's degree at the same time. Twenty years later Harvard and Columbia, as well as Yale, were to give him honorary doctorates for other accomplishments.

Trumbull was appointed the first librarian of the State in 1854, and was then able to carry on the work begun earlier, informally, of arranging the records and books of the state into its first real library. In some manuscript notes he has recorded the origin of this first state library for Connecticut.

Finding the books owned by the State in a sort of loft "over the Secretary's office" in the old City Hall . . . inconvenient of access and almost uncared for, I appropriated the east end of the lobby or upper hall; had it partitioned off, a comfortable room finished and furnished, ample for the accommodation of the library, *then*, but far too small *now* [1864], transferred the books thither, and next Spring, finding that my proceedings (which were without especial "warrant of law" so far as the building of a room was concerned) met the cordial approval of the Legislature, I drew and procured the passage of a resolution which provided for the immediate and progressive increase of the library, by the completion of its series of American reports.²

² Annie Eliot Trumbull, "An Appreciation of James Hammond Trumbull," in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Library of the Late James Hammond Trumbull* . . . New York, American Art Association, 1921, [2].

Assistant to the Secretary of State from 1858 to 1861, he was then himself elected Secretary, and was re-elected annually for five years thereafter, serving through the difficult Civil War period. By now Trumbull was also well started on a long period of service to the Connecticut Historical Society. He was its Corresponding Secretary from 1848 to 1863, President from 1863 to 1889, and editor of its first two volumes in the series titled *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*.

In 1857 a significant occurrence profoundly affected his career. In that year one David Watkinson, a wealthy, English-born Hartford merchant, bequeathed \$100,000 "for the purpose of establishing in connection with the Connecticut Historical Society a Library of Reference, to be accessible at all reasonable hours and times to all citizens and other residents and visitors in the State of Connecticut." Watkinson's will brought into being a Board of Trustees to carry out his plan. This was to provide a "library of reference" to supplement existing library facilities in the city of Hartford: the Connecticut Historical Society, the State Library, and the Young Men's Institute, now the Public Library.

This Board was both distinguished and highly competent, including as it did George Brinley, the collector of Americana; Henry Barnard, the first State and Federal Commissioner of Education; the Governor of the State; and the presidents of Trinity College and the Historical Society, as well as Trumbull. It was a tribute both to him and to his familiarity with the world of books that he was shortly thereafter elected by his fellow trustees the first Librarian of the Watkinson, charged with the responsibility for building a scholarly library from absolutely nothing. (Contrary to popular opinion, Mr. Watkinson did not leave a book collection as a cornerstone to build upon.) It was here that Trumbull's knowledge in many fields and his love of books came into full play. He drew elaborate plans for the physical organization of the Library in rooms of the Wadsworth

Atheneum on Main Street, and for the marshalling of books in keeping with the terms of David Watkinson's will. A closely knit physical organization but at the same time rather anomalous spiritual arrangement was developing on Atheneum Square at this time. The art institution, known as the Wadsworth Atheneum, came to be the landlord for the Historical Society, the Young Men's Institute (now the Public Library), and the Watkinson, by a series of agreements and exchanges of assets. In 1952 both the Historical Society and the Watkinson were able to extricate themselves, with the former going to excellent new quarters on Elizabeth Street. The Public Library still strives to gain a much-needed new building.

Almost single-handedly, Trumbull was responsible for the 10,000 volumes on the shelves at the Watkinson Library's opening in 1866, and for its approximately 65,000 volumes in 1891 when he retired. He collected in the broad fields of the humanities—literature, language, philosophy, history, geography and travel, and the arts—through bibliographies and catalogues, visits to and from dealers, trips to auctions, and correspondence with such agents abroad as Henry Stevens. All these efforts were aimed at the development of a working library for the nineteenth-century version of "the scholar." This was only a fraction of the toils of a very versatile mind. At the same time Trumbull was building his own book collection, now in part in the Watkinson, until it became one of the most important in its various fields. "The Worker," as he was known and as he came to write proudly after his name, was recognized as the foremost student of the American Indian, and particularly of his language. His personal collection reflected both this interest and his concentration on local history. It was Trumbull's study of the early history of New England which led him back to its aboriginal inhabitants. One of his first and obvious steps was to study their language, and to acquire a vocabulary and a knowledge of its

grammatical structure. It was he who made a detailed philological study of John Eliot's *Indian Bible* in the Algonquin tongue, which helped to solve many of the dialectic and phonetic problems concerning the languages of the many Indian tribes. His reputation as an Indian-language authority was well known, and caused a New York newspaper reporter to remark at one of the Brinley sales, when Trumbull won out in the bidding for an Eliot Bible, that it was most appropriate since Trumbull was the only one in America who could read it!

A few of his publications on the Indian are: "On Onomatopoeia in the Algonkin Languages" (*Proceedings*, American Oriental Society); "On the Best Method of Studying the North American Languages" (*Proceedings*, American Philological Association); "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names" (Connecticut Historical Society Collections); "On Numerals in American Indian Languages" and "Indian Mode of Counting" (*Proceedings*, American Philological Association); *Natick Dictionary* (Bulletin No. 25, Bureau of American Ethnology); "Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages" (*Transactions*, American Philological Association); and "Indian Deeds and Covenants" (*Proceedings*, Massachusetts Historical Society).

His acquaintances marveled at his fund of information on early New England communities, and George F. Hoar, when President of the American Antiquarian Society, said of him that he "knows the history, the life, the manners, even the gossip, of every New England generation from the beginning, as if he had been a contemporary."³ It was his gathering of local-history material which formed the basis for the monumental *Memorial History of Hartford County* which he edited in two large quarto volumes, and to which he contributed sections on the original proprietors and the Indians of Connecticut. A publisher's state-

³ American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, n.s., V (1887-1888), 3.

ment calls attention to the fact that the editor had read, annotated and corrected every page, and that his material on the history of Hartford had been put at the disposal of the contributors.

It was George Brinley's deathbed request in 1875 that his friend and fellow collector make the catalogue for the sale of his collection of Americana, of close to 10,000 items. Trumbull undertook this task, entirely as a labor of love, and worked at it over a period of fifteen years. The catalogue originally appeared in five parts at the times of the various sales, and was later made up into a special edition of 100 copies by George Brinley's heirs.⁴ Brinley knew what he was doing when he made this last request, for Trumbull combined in one man both historical knowledge and bibliographical competence for the task. He produced an auction catalogue which has long served as a useful bibliography as well.

Trumbull is known also for another bibliography, his *List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800*. This work actually was a series of manuscript slips left at his death, with that title prefixed. In 1904 his daughter, Annie Eliot Trumbull, edited these slips, supplied corrections from other manuscript notes left by her father, and permitted the Acorn Club of Connecticut to print the list. A record of over 1,700 books, excluding broadsides and leaflets, substantially as he prepared and used it, it testifies to his thoroughness and love of detail. Two supplements have been published by the Club, in 1938 and 1947, both by Albert Carlos Bates, long-time librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society who died this spring. These have swelled the total of recorded imprints to some 2,878 items.

Besides his service to the Connecticut Historical Society as President for twenty-six years, he was Council Member and Secretary of Foreign Correspondence for twenty-five years of

⁴ *Catalogue of the American Library of the Late Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Conn.* Hartford, Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1878-97. 5 parts.

the American Antiquarian Society; President of the American Philological Association; and long-time member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Oriental Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and six state historical societies.

In a manuscript genealogy of his family Trumbull describes himself as manifesting "a taste for unprofitable studies," and devoting "much of his time to the prosecution of unproductive research, and to the accomplishment of various laborious undertakings which were without promise of pecuniary results." Those of us who live close to the Hartford scene like to feel that time has served to temper James Hammond Trumbull's harsh judgment of his scholarly and bibliographical endeavors.

Further Clues Bearing on the Mystery of Casanova's *Memoirs*

By J. RIVES CHILDS

EVER since the publication of Casanova's *Memoirs*, which end abruptly with the year 1774, the question has been debated back and forth whether the *Memoirs*, as we actually possess them, in reality were continued beyond the year 1774 and, in such case, whether the manuscript for the years 1774-1798, which may at one time have existed, may have been destroyed deliberately or have been lost after Casanova's death in 1798.

The suggestion has been made that as the text, if such ever existed, of the *Memoirs* for the last years of Casanova's life must inevitably have been concerned with Casanova's patron, Count Waldstein and his family, the Count himself might well have deemed it the better part of discretion to see that this portion of Casanova's history should never see the light.

We know from the testimony of Brockhaus, the German firm which acquired the original manuscript, that the text which came into their hands consisted of twelve octavo volumes of a total of some six hundred pages, and that the last volume of the Laforgue edition corresponds to the final volume of the manuscript (*Pages Casanoviennes*, VI, p. 36).

Concerning the character of the manuscript itself otherwise and the progress of the work we have three principal sources of information: (1) the correspondence of Casanova commenting upon his task; (2) internal evidence in the *Memoirs* themselves where occasionally specific dates are given which establish that

the author had reached a certain point in the drafting of the text; and (3) the evidence of third parties concerning the *Memoirs*. These last include those, such as the Prince de Ligne, the Countess Roggendorff, and Baron von Linden, who had been made acquainted with them before their publication during Casanova's lifetime, and, in addition, the subsequent editors of the manuscript whose acquaintance with the manuscript was not contemporary.

Of this testimony it will, I think, be conceded that the most valuable is that under (1) and (2) which emanate from Casanova himself. If we except a single reference by Casanova, at the end of the present existing text, of his intention to continue the work beyond 1774 to form one additional volume, the evidence is fairly overwhelming that the *Memoirs* never progressed beyond that date. We have also the important testimony of the Prince de Ligne, who read the *Memoirs* while still in manuscript form, and who has left us in his own *Memoirs* a summary of them. It is noteworthy that, apart from certain details of Casanova's last years, with which the Prince de Ligne was personally familiar, this summary adds nothing to the text of them which we possess. This is exceedingly convincing evidence.

The most troubling aspect of the question whether the *Memoirs* were continued beyond 1774 arises from the testimony of Baron von Linden and Countess Roggendorff and from the editor of the Heideldoff edition. On the part of these the evidence would appear to tend at least inferentially to support the conclusion that the *Memoirs* at one time exceeded the twelve volumes acquired by Brockhaus and that they did in fact extend beyond the year 1774. Let us examine this evidence seriatim.

The first reference which we find to the *Memoirs* is at the end of Casanova's *Histoire de ma fuite*, published under the date of 1787, where he wrote:

When I shall have the inclination to write the history of all that has happened to me during the eighteen years I have spent in traveling over

Europe until the moment when it pleased the Inquisitors of State to accord me permission to return freely in my country in a manner honorable to me, I shall begin at that epoch and my readers will find it written in the same style . . . If I go so far as to write my history it is possible that it will not appear until after my death inasmuch as, resolved to tell the truth, it will be necessary that I criticize myself often and that will not amuse me (Ed. Samaran, Paris, 1922, pp. 266 *et seq.*).

From this it would appear that it was Casanova's original intention to write the history of his life following his escape from prison in Venice in 1756 and to continue it only until 1774, the year of his return to Venice, considering no doubt that as he had already told the story of his imprisonment and his escape it was not necessary to repeat it. The eighteen years of his travels in exile would thus be accounted for. This is precious evidence of Casanova's intention to terminate his *Memoirs* in 1774, given by him in the earliest reference which we have that he was turning over the writing of them in his mind.

We know from Casanova's own statements that the *Memoirs* were begun by him before January 10, 1791—probably in 1790—and that he was continuing to work on them in 1798, the year of his death. As originally planned, Casanova anticipated that they would form six octavo volumes of text. Actually, in the end they came to form at least twelve such volumes. By March 21, 1791, he had completed two volumes—one third of the six originally contemplated—and by July 27, 1792, they had advanced as far as the year 1772, and the end of the twelfth "tome." It likewise appears from internal evidence that, while engaged in their composition, the author was continually going over them and making additions.

The first mention of their actual composition appears in a letter dated January 10, 1791, from Casanova to J. F. Opiz:

I write "my life" to make myself laugh and I succeed. I write thirteen hours a day which pass like thirteen minutes. What pleasure it is to recall pleasures! but what pain it is to recollect them. I amuse myself because I

do not invent. What bothers me is the necessity I am under to disguise the names for I have no right to publicize the affairs of others (*Giacomo Casanova, Correspondance avec J. F. Opiz*, Leipzig, 1913, I, p. 71).

Under date of March 2, 1791, Casanova recorded in a letter to the same correspondent:

I have already written two thirds of "my life" which will make six volumes in grand octavo, but I beg you not to be in a hurry to read them for, if they become public, they will only be after my death (I, p. 77).

There is next an important letter from Casanova to Giovanni Carlo Grimani, dated April 8, 1791, apologizing for his behavior in Venice nine years before when he was compelled to leave his native city for the second time after the publication of his satire, *Nè Amore, nè Donne*, and making reference also to his *Memoirs*:

Now that my age persuades me to believe it has reached its limit, I have written the story of my life which, naturally, the remarkable, highly placed gentleman whom I serve [Count Waldstein] and who will remain possessor of my writings, will permit publication. In this story, which will be developed in six octavo volumes and will be translated without doubt into all languages, Your Excellency will appear in the sixth volume as a very interesting personality. When you will read it you will confess to deep regret that the author died before his manner of thinking had revealed itself to you; and then, although too late, you will bestow upon him your favor. Your Excellency whom I have often recognized as a deep student of the human heart will observe what difference there can be between a pen, which writes under the momentary influence of passion, and that same pen, enlightened by a pure philosophy, nine years later. My history will be all the more a strange school of morals since one will find in it only satires about myself which are meant to prove to the readers that the man who composed it can be reborn and become the most perfect of all human beings.

But in order that Your Excellency may not have cause to forget too late my audacious fault of nine years ago I approach you, hoping for a complete forgiveness of my error, so that I may give it a place under the appendix which will appear in the seventh posthumous volume of the history of my life. This seventh volume will be thick, as in the present excellent state of my health it might well be that I may live another ten

years, and the volume may well be increased by different anecdotes which may occur during that lapse of time. This is then the purpose of my present letter, which will be included as a supplement to my history, followed with the gracious reply with which I hope it will please Your Excellency to favor me (*G. Casanovas Briefwechsel*, München und Leipzig, Müller, 1913, pp. 295-299).

The next references by Casanova to his *Memoirs* are found in his correspondence with Opiz. He writes on July 11, 1791:

My health is good and I occupy myself with "my memoirs." This occupation is my distraction. In writing them I find myself young and school-boyish. I give myself over often to outbursts of laughter which makes me pass for a fool as idiots do not believe that one can laugh alone (I, pp. 80-81).

February 20, 1792: I work eleven hours a day at "my memoirs," of which I am at the tenth tome . . . As far as concerns "my memoirs," the more the work progresses the more I am convinced that they are made to be burned. From that you will see that, so far as I shall be the master, they will certainly not see the light of day. They are of a character to make the night pass for the reader but the "cynicism," which I have introduced, is excessive and passes the bounds which convention has placed around indiscretions. But you cannot imagine how much I am amused. I have observed "without blushing" that I no longer care for anyone; but take note that I blush at not blushing (I, p. 87).

July 27, 1792: If you are interested in "my memoirs" I should tell you that I am at the end of my twelfth tome at the age of forty-seven years, that is to say at the year 72 of this century; but I must also tell you that in all probability I shall give orders that the whole be burned in my presence . . . The late friend of ours, the worthy Count Max de Lamberg, could not suffer the idea which I had to burn my memoirs and, thinking to survive me, he persuaded me to send him the first four volumes. But there is no longer any question of that now that his beautiful soul has departed his body. For three weeks I have bemoaned his death . . .

I return to "my memoirs." I am not of the sect of Diogenes. But in spite of that I tell you that the "cynicism" is so outrageous in all the details of my too lively adventures up until the age of fifty that my life will be a work, the reading of which will be forbidden in all countries where one loves decent manners. I am a detestable creature, but I am not anxious that one should know it and I do not covet the honor of being detested by

posterity. My work is filled with excellent moral counsels. But of what good are these if the charming descriptions of my sins excite readers more to emulate them than to repentance? What I tell you is the truth. Besides that, readers in the know will divine the names of all the women and men I disguise, about whose rascalities the whole world is not fully informed and, my indiscretions wounding them in their hearts, will cause them to cry out against me, notwithstanding that in my history one will read only the purest truth.

My "cynicism," moreover, does not resemble either that of Catullus nor Tibullus, Martial, or Ovid in the obscene poems. Imagine a "Portier des Chartreux," an "Aloysia Sygeae," a "Thérèse Philosophe," an "Ecole de l'Arétin," and still more.¹ Tell me now if I must or must not burn my work (II, pp. 95-98).

July 20, 1793: As regards "my memoirs" I think I shall leave them there, for since the age of fifty I can only recount the sad, and that makes me sad. I write them only to amuse myself with my readers; actually I will pain them, and that is not worth while (II, p. 125).

From the foregoing it will be noted that Casanova had reached the end of his twelfth "tome" with the year 1772. This would bring him to the next to the last chapter of the *Memoirs* as we possess them. As late as July 20, 1793, he was expressing his intentions not to carry them beyond his fiftieth year, namely 1774.

The only evidence which we possess directly of a change of heart on the part of Casanova in this respect is a reference at the close of the next to the last chapter of the *Memoirs*, when he was recounting the events of the year 1773, to an encounter with a friend ten years later, in 1783. Here is what he wrote:

This man [General Burghausen], a charming person and of wide experience, remained at Trieste and desired to make my acquaintance. Ten years later he was of service to me, as my readers will find in the next volume, which may perhaps be the last (ed. Sirène, XII, p. 197).

As Casanova was already at the end of his twelfth volume he was referring here to a thirteenth. There is no direct evidence

¹ The reference is to four of the most erotic writings in circulation in the eighteenth century.

from him that he actually put his intentions into execution. On the contrary, apart from this single reference, all the evidence to be found in the text of the *Memoirs* themselves points fairly unmistakably to the conclusion that they were never continued beyond 1774. This evidence, which is of the highest importance, consists of specific dates which enable us to fix with some degree of precision the years in which Casanova was drafting some particular sentence of the *Memoirs*. As it does not appear that these valuable signposts have ever been assembled all together in consecutive order I have done so below, preceding the citations with the year in the events of his life of which Casanova is treating, followed by the year in which he appears to be writing:²

1725-1734: 1798: During the following years she became the mother of two daughters . . . the other married in Dresden where she still lives in 1798 (ed. Sirène, I, p. 15).

1737: 1797: Now that I am seventy-two years of age I believe myself no longer susceptible of such follies (I, p. 44).

1739: 1794: When I went to pay him a visit eighteen years ago, I found Bettine old, ill, and dying. She died in my presence in 1776 twenty-four hours after my arrival (I, p. 57).

1743: 1791: I will speak of him again in the year 1771 when his government had sent him to Corfu twenty years ago (I, p. 140, with an addition from the Schutz edition).

1751: 1792: Madame la Dauphine was delivered of a prince, the Duke of Burgundy, and the rejoicings indulged in at the birth of that child seem to me incredible now, when I see what the nation is doing against the king (III, p. 152).

1759: 1795: . . . this noble Abbé [the Cardinal de Bernis] who died a year ago at Rome (V, p. 226).

1761: 1796: I kept up a correspondence with him until his death [Count Lamberg], by his own fault, four years ago (VIII, p. 22).

1763: 1796: Thirty-six years ago I told him [Voltaire] as much, and he took me at my word (VIII, p. 236).

² Dr. Guède, in the *Mercure de France* of May 16, 1912, adduced four of these in his article, "Pourquoi la suite des Mémoires de Casanova n'existe pas," as conclusive enough evidence that the *Memoirs* were not continued beyond the year 1774.

1763: *circa* 1796: Six years later, when I came back from Spain, I found to my great delight that she was living happily with Count N . . . , whom she had married three years after my departure. She had two sons, the younger, who must now be twenty-seven, is a captain in the Austrian service (VIII, p. 267).

1763: 1797: If the lines of ascent and declination are equal, now on the first day of November, 1797, I have about four more years of life (IX, 263).

1763: 1797: Four years ago I wrote to Madame G[rève] at Hamburg, and my letter began: "After a silence of twenty years . . ." (IX, p. 341).

1767: 1798: Today is the first of the year 1798 (X, p. 222).

1767: 1798: After a fortnight I left the delightful region of Schwetzingen, leaving some of my belongings in the care of the poet, Verazi . . . and after a lapse of thirty-one years Verazi keeps them still (X, p. 234).

1769: 1797/8: I was convinced by these sage counsels and swore to the Marquis [d'Argens] I would never be guilty of such a folly [as to write his *Memoirs*] but in spite of that I have been doing so every day for the past seven years, and what is more, I have come to think that I have contracted a rigorous obligation to proceed to the end, whatever the repentance I may experience. I continue therefore to write in nourishing the secret hope that my *Memoirs* may never see the light of day. In the first place the infamous censure, extinguisher of intelligence, would not allow them to be printed, and in the second I hope that I shall be wise enough, in order not to be any longer a fool, to have all my papers burned before my eyes when my last illness comes. If that be not the case I count on the indulgence of my readers, who should remember that I have only written my story to prevent my going mad or dying of chagrin in the midst of all the petty insults and disagreements which I have had to bear day by day with the envious rascals who live with me in this castle of Count Waldstein, or Wallenstein, at Dux (XI, p. 156).

1771: 1798: Today in the 73rd year of my life . . . (XII, p. 92).

1772: 1798: It was according to this maxim that twenty years ago I told Cagliostro in Venice . . . not to set his foot in Rome (XII, p. 118).

1772: 1798: If such were my thoughts twenty-six years ago [in Ancona] (XII, p. 146).

1772: 1798: This dismemberment [of Poland] brought about the

complete dissolution of the kingdom which took place last year (ed. Paulin, X, p. 286).

Now it is notable in connection with the above citations that, with the exception of the first three, the dates when the text was written by Casanova, on the internal evidence available to us, follow strictly in chronological order. This, to my mind, can suggest but one thing, namely, that while Casanova may well have completed a first sketchy draft by July 27, 1792 (it being recalled that in his letter to Opiz of that date he mentions that he was at the end of his "twelfth tome at the age of forty-seven years," that is to say, at the end of the year 1772), his definitive draft was made between the years 1792 and 1798. To my mind Casanova never progressed, in the history of his life, beyond the year 1774.

I think that by the year 1797 Casanova must have realized that he was approaching the end (he admits as much in one of the citations given above) and that he had to be content with what he had already written of his *Memoirs*. There is a bit of corroborative evidence in his preface and in a letter which he wrote about the preface to Count Marcolini in Dresden when Casanova was suggesting that Count Marcolini undertake the publication of the *Memoirs*. It is evident that the preface was written at the last. In the Laforgue text we read in the preface:

At the age of seventy-years, in 1797, when I can say *vixi*, although I am still alive . . . (I, p. 4).

In his letter to Count Marcolini from Dux under date of April 27, 1797, Casanova writes:

Here is the preface that you have honored with your approbation . . . You will find more fully in me this character when you have read calmly and at ease my first volume which I have decided to make available to you to edit should you desire to take it over. Whether it will see the light of day during my lifetime or thereafter, it seems to me that it ought only to appear when it may be above criticism; I think that will be when you find it to be so. The publication of the first volume will acquaint us with

the fate of the others and will decide us whether to let them live or to burn them (*Pages Casanoviennes*, VI, p. 138).

Let us come now to the evidence of third parties bearing on this disputed subject of the continuation of the *Memoirs* beyond 1774, some of a negative and some of a more positive character. Let us examine first of all the negative evidence which these offer.

In the *Memoirs* of the Prince de Ligne, uncle of Count Waldstein, Casanova's protector, there is given a summary review of the *Memoirs* of Casanova which had been read in manuscript by De Ligne. This summary was published as an appendix to the last volume of the Laforgue edition and is reprinted in the Garnier edition with a note, evidently written by Laforgue that "beginning here [towards the end of De Ligne's summary] all that the fragment of the Prince de Ligne contains has to do with a time posterior to the *Memoirs* which we possess of Casanova (year 1774). Now since the Prince writes from memory only what he has recollected from a reading of the manuscripts, there is no doubt that originally his *Memoirs* were much more extensive than those which we publish, and we may nourish the hope that one day what has been removed will be made available to us."

Here there is first of all to be noted an error on the part of Laforgue in his observation that nothing which follows in Prince de Ligne's summary is to be found in the text of the *Memoirs*. It is true that the conversation which immediately follows, between Casanova and the Emperor Joseph II, occurred after 1774, but it is recounted by Casanova out of chronological order in volume three, page 202, of his *Memoirs* (ed. Sirène). As for the remainder of the Prince de Ligne's account, it has to do exclusively with Casanova's relations with Count Waldstein with which the Prince must have been personally familiar. Accordingly, there is nothing in the Prince de Ligne's summary of Casanova's *Memoirs*, which adds anything to the text of the

Memoirs as they exist, other than the details referred to of Casanova's contacts with Count Waldstein.

Laforgue's appendix, however, merits citation further for certain additional details offered about the *Memoirs*, thus:

... the end of this chapter [the last of volume twelve] is the abrupt end of the *Memoirs* of Casanova, without doubt not such as he left them but such as they were found after the death of this interesting adventurer, or rather such as they have come to us; for when one reflects on the tribulations which he suffered during the last years of his life, tribulations which could well be only the product or fruit of an excessively irritable susceptibility, the vast field of conjectures allows us to hazard, with much reason, that in his writings he dealt rudely with certain individuals with whom his position brought him in daily contact; and with this assumption, one is naturally brought to the conclusion of the removal and destruction of all which could possibly wound the honor or the self-love of those interested survivors.

Nor is this all, for in Laforgue's appendix we find the interesting observation, which is moreover confirmed from internal evidence of the *Memoirs* themselves, that "Casanova worked and reworked over them more than once."

Before turning to the evidence of Countess Roggendorff and Baron von Linden let us examine next the evidence offered by another of the editors of the *Memoirs*. This is to be found in the editor's introduction and in a biographical notice of the life of Casanova which appear in an extremely rare edition of the *Memoirs*, published in Paris in 1830 by Charles Heideldoff, which reproduces the first two volumes only of the Laforgue edition.

First of all there is the peculiar and arresting title of this edition, namely, "Memoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt sur les cinquante dernières années du XVIIIe siècle; publiés après les manuscrits originaux de l'Auteur."

In the introduction of the editors we read:

It appears that Casanova gave successively two titles to his memoirs; first of all he entitled them: *Histoire de ma vie jusqu'en 1797* . . .

The other title which follows is more detailed:

Mémoires de Jean-Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, contenant ses voyages et ses aventures galantes et politiques en Italie, en France, en Espagne, en Angleterre, en Russie, en Pologne, et en Allemagne.

There follows in the course of the introduction an observation which is in flagrant contradiction with the title page of the Heideldoff edition, that is to say:

But the original autograph manuscript . . . consists of six hundred pages, carefully divided into ten volumes, and these into chapters; the whole having to do with some forty years of the life of the author, that is to say from his tender infancy to a period beyond his mature age.

We know, in fact, that the Brockhaus manuscript does consist of some six hundred pages, but it is divided into twelve and not ten volumes. Moreover, it treats not of some forty years of the life of the author but of some fifty years, namely from 1725 to 1774. The evidence here, therefore, is confirmatory of the fact that the text was not continued beyond 1774.

However, there is a grave contradiction to be found in the biographical notice of Casanova which is contained in the first volume of the Heideldoff edition. Here one reads that:

After a short stay in Venice, he returned again to Paris and it is in connection with this last sojourn in Paris in 1782 that the manuscript of his memoirs ends.

How much trust is to be placed in this statement is the question which has for long troubled Casanova students, including the eminent Casanovist, the late M. Pollio (*Bibliographie anecdotique et critique des œuvres de Jacques Casanova*, Paris, 1926, p. 205). It is worth observing in this connection that in this same biographical notice of the Heideldoff edition the date of Casanova's death is given as 1803 instead of the correct date of 1798. This would lead to the inference that not too great importance can be given to the cited reference to the continuation of the

Memoirs to the year 1782. Actually, as we know, Casanova returned to Paris for the last time not in 1782 but in 1783.

One of the strongest arguments adduced in favor of the thesis that we do not possess the complete text of the *Memoirs*, as Casanova left them, is the reference in a letter, dated August 1, 1797, from Countess Roggendorff to Casanova in which she wrote:

You declare in one of your letters that on your death you will bequeath me your *Memoirs* which consist of fifteen tomes (*Pages Casanoviennes*, VI, p. 42).

Now we know from two different sources: one, the *Memoirs* themselves, and two, a letter dated April 8, 1791, from Casanova to Giovanni Carlo Grimani, which has already been cited, that Casanova contemplated adding an appendix or codicil to his *Memoirs* consisting of various documents. This appendix may well have represented the difference between the twelve octavo volumes of the text proper and the "fifteen tomes" to which reference is made in Countess Roggendorff's letter.

On Casanova's last journey through Aix in 1769 he fell ill and was tended by a nurse, sent to look after him without his knowledge by his old friend, Henriette. A letter, received by him in Marseilles from Henriette, enlightened him and, according to his *Memoirs*:

I replied, accepting her offer to correspond, and I told her the whole story of my adventures. From her I received forty letters, in which the history of her life is given. If she dies before me, I shall add these letters to my *Memoirs*, but at present she is alive and happy, but advanced in years (ed. Sirène, XI, p. 166).

It is significant that none of Henriette's letters have ever been found at Dux, where Casanova died, among the hundreds of letters from women recovered there addressed to him.

There is one further bit of disturbing evidence which this time refers not to "fifteen tomes" but to "seventeen volumes."

We find it in the first printed mention of the *Memoirs* appearing in a work by Baron von Linden entitled "Gesammelte Schriften physisch-technisch-chemischen Inhalts," Prague, 1801. This Baron von Linden was a companion of Casanova at Dux in his last years there. Here is what he wrote of the latter's *Memoirs*:

I have had the opportunity of reading a number of still unprinted works from the hands of this inexhaustible genius, who was accustomed to spending nine hours every day at his desk, and the most remarkable of these are his *Memoirs* which fill seventeen volumes . . . Death unfortunately claimed him June 4, 1789 [*sic*], after he had been my daily and dearest companion, before he had scarcely begun this work. Peace be to his ashes!

Gugitz, one of the leading Casanovists, in his *Giacomo Casanova und sein Lebensroman*, lays the greatest stress on this citation as establishing the fact that at least two volumes of Casanova's *Memoirs* have been lost to us. Gugitz accepts the reference to "fifteen tomes," made by Countess Roggendorff, as representing the text which Brockhaus acquired despite the fact that we know definitely that the text acquired by Brockhaus comprised twelve volumes. He comes to this conclusion with no attempt to interpret the enigmatic and apparently conflicting statement of von Linden that Casanova died before "he had scarcely begun this work" [the *Memoirs*]. Let us note, moreover, that in such a matter as the date of Casanova's death, Linden has been guilty of an error. This is obviously typographical, as he was fully aware of the correct date. If, however, he has committed an error in so obvious a reckoning, the inference can hardly be excluded that his computation of the number of volumes of the *Memoirs* may have been equally incorrect. Countess Roggendorff herself may easily have been guilty of an error in her reference to "fifteen tomes." If this reference had been found in one of Casanova's letters, it would be entitled to far greater credence.

The evidence as a whole on this subject is certainly far from conclusive. If we lay greatest stress on the evidence afforded us

by Casanova himself, which would appear to merit properly greatest consideration, I think it may reasonably be concluded that the *Memoirs* were never continued beyond the year 1774. They were evidently begun about 1790, a first hasty draft had been completed by 1792, and the work of repolishing and adding was pursued during the years 1792-1798. In 1797 Casanova may well have contemplated continuing them through three additional volumes, consisting of a final thirteenth volume to which he makes reference at the close of his surviving text, and an appendix which would comprise his correspondence with Henriette and with others, including Grimani. It is entirely possible that the appendix may well have been formed, as no one has ever discovered the forty letters of Henriette which were to have been included in it. If such an appendix ever existed it was either destroyed by Casanova or by his survivors, or it may possibly have been lost. In any case it would appear necessary to reconcile ourselves to the great probability that Casanova's *Memoirs*, as we have them, are all that we shall ever have of the history of that remarkable man, and that the events of his life from 1774 to 1798 remained unrecorded.

Bibliographical Notes

"A Critical History of Children's Literature":

A Second List of Errata

"Howlers" are detestable in works of research, and odious when the setting in which they occur is an ostentatious omniscience. The man who apes the light allusive manner of the scholar without his accuracy, rightly meets with little sympathy when he is found out. It is a matter of tone. Was it merely an error of memory, or was he pretending to know more than he did? The acerbity of scholars, however, in pointing out the errors of gay slap-dashers had often astonished me, till I had occasion myself to do a little research. Then I understood. An inaccurate footnote, the object of which was to display knowledge, made me lose a whole day's work.—Sir Desmond MacCarthy, *Portraits* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 248.

A Critical History of Children's Literature (New York, The Macmillan Company, [c1953]) was reviewed in the Second Quarter PAPERS (pp. 199-208). The final footnote stated that more errors had been discovered after the review was in type, and that another list of errata would appear in the Third Quarter PAPERS. That supplementary list—of errors in the second printing of the book, and, of course, in the first printing as well—is appended to these preliminary remarks.

The *History*, a handsome, well-made volume, bound in blue, and written in facile though rather loose style by four contributors (the Misses Cornelia Meigs, Anne Thaxter Eaton, and Elizabeth Nesbitt, and Mrs. Ruth Hill Viguers) has had an interesting history of its own. This was outlined, with somewhat startling candor, by the editor-in-chief, Miss Meigs, in an article which appeared in *Publishers' Weekly* for July 4, 1953, shortly after the book itself had been published. ("Editing the First Critical History of Literature for Children," pp. 21-24.) The book, it appears, was assembled in great haste, and with the minimum of checking, so that it could be placed on sale at the Los Angeles conference of the American Library Association in June, 1953.

With such a myriad of matters to be attended to, such a host of details to be settled, that [*sic*] the book, complete at last, went to press at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute that would allow for its appearance in time for the American Library Meeting [*sic*] in June. There were some last frantic additions to the index, some long distance calls to verify footnote references or spelling of names.

The A.L.A., not to be outdone in *petits soins*, voted the *History* one of the outstanding books of 1953.

As *Huckleberry Finn* (1885)—or, as the *History* has it, *Huckelberry Finn* (1884)—said of *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678-1684)—though the *History* has taken its stand on 1676-1678—the statements in the book are interesting, but tough. Very few of its allusions can be taken at face value.

A more elaborate version and one well-loved until the Perrault story displaced it is that of Catskin, which, we hear, the Vicar of Wakefield told to his children (p. 10).

We hear wrong: Mr. Burchell, the friend of the family, told the tale of Catskin to the Vicar's children.

Shakespeare knew the essence of his [Robin Hood's] character, for Charles in *As You Like It*, thus reports of the banished Duke, "They say he is already in the Forest of Arden and many a merry man with him, and there they live like Robin Hood of England. . . ." (p. 18; reference omitted from the Index).

Not in *our* Shakespeare, where the line reads: "They say he is already in the Forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the Robin Hood of England. . . ."

Certain privileges were allowed him [Sir Thomas Malory] even in prison, on account of his rank, one of them being access to the books in the Grey Friars Library across the road, the first [*sic*] library in London, which had been founded by one Richard Whittington, three times Lord Mayor (p. 27; reference omitted from the Index).

The Gray Friars Library was the first *public* library in London. Whittington had reactivated a library established by the Franciscans two centuries earlier.

Try to unsnarl Perrault and his *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé* (1697). On p. 70—this reference is omitted from the Index—one reads, "Newbery's use of the title of 'Mother Goose' was taken from Perrault's *Contes du Temps Passé* [*sic*] which had as frontispiece Ma Mere [*sic*] L'Oie, telling her tales to children." Page 113: "Perrault's *Histoires du*

Temps Passé [sic] was published in France in 1698 [sic].” Page 206: “. . . with the persistence of Perrault’s *Tales of Mother Goose*.” The Index, playing no favorites, lists both *Contes du Temps Passé* and *Histoires du Temps Passé*. (It also lists Mme. d’Aulnoy’s *Contes de Feés* [sic].) The subtitle, *Avec des Moralitez*, is printed *Avec les* [sic] *Moralitez* on p. 111 (see also p. 113). The *History* unhesitatingly credits the book to Charles Perrault. See, however, Percy Muir’s *English Children’s Books, 1600 to 1900* (N. Y., 1954): “. . . At the time of original publication, and throughout the lifetime of Perrault Senior, the son’s [Pierre’s] authorship was generally accepted. Today informed opinion in France also favours the son. . . .”

Or embark on this lucid explanation of Lady Eleanor Fenn’s *Fables* (if you can find her. There is no Index entry). Ah! Here she is (p. 89).

But her *Fables in Monosyllables* (between 1780-1790) are most revealing of the time and in it she makes an attempt at a distinction in the matter of what fables are. Fables are stories to teach children what they should do, “by showing them what may happen to them if they do not act as they ought to do.” If a boy goes near a horse, she explains, after having been forbidden to do so, and the horse kicks him, “that is not a fable but a tale.” But the story of the good Kid (Lady Eleanor was innocent of modern slang) who obeyed his mother, and the other of the naughty Kid, who did not mind the orders which the Goat left, and so was devoured by the Wolf, that is a fable.”

“The distinction is still somewhat hazy.” So it is, and so is the question of where Lady Eleanor ends and the *History* begins—not to speak of why
 * “she explains, after having been forbidden to do so.”

A SECOND LIST OF ERRATA

- p. viii. For *The Christmas Carol* read *A Christmas Carol*.
- p. x. For “*A Boy’s King Arthur* and *A Boy’s Froissart* and even *A Boy’s Percy*” read *The Boy’s King Arthur*, and *The Boy’s Froissart*, and even *The Boy’s Percy*.
- p. xii. For Jakob Burkhardt read Jakob Burckhardt.
- p. xvii. For Comenius’ read Comenius.
- p. 15. For Meave read Maeve.
- p. 22. For War-Wick read Warwick.
- p. 50. DeFoe is preferably Defoe or De Foe.
- p. 51. Pater familias is more commonly written paterfamilias.
- pp. 60-61. For the *Winter’s Tale* read *The Winter’s Tale*.
- p. 83. For Lucy Aiken read Lucy Aikin.
- p. 91. For “the Lamb’s gifts” read the Lambs’ gifts (cf. p. 90).

- p. 92. For "the old wives tales" read the old wives' tales. For *Jemima Placid, the Advantages of Good Nature* read *Jemima Placid, or The Advantage of Good Nature*.
- p. 94. "The value and responsibility of that opportunity were becoming more and more clear and of a wider illumination." Meaning what?
- p. 106. For "the *Waverly Novels*" read the *Waverley Novels*. Add dates (1800-1864) for Catherine Sinclair.
- p. 107. For Columbia Press read Columbia University Press.
- p. 118. Last entry, delete period after "par" and indent next line. Put period after Bonnefon.
- p. 119. "The adventurers to Virginia and Jamestown were all men." This leaves the birth of Virginia Dare unexplained.
- p. 139. For naive read naïve.
- p. 142. For pantaloons read pantaloons.
"The clever cat in 'Puss-in-Boots' he condemned as a liar and a cheat, and was revolted by the bloodiness of 'Jack the Giant Killer.'" Insert "he" before "was."
- p. 143. For "it ancientness" read its ancientness.
- p. 160. For "The Taylors's verses" read The Taylors' verses.
- p. 163. For the Troy Sentinel read the *Troy Sentinel*.
- p. 164. For *Divine and Morals Songs* read *Divine and Moral Songs*.
- p. 170. For *Womenkind* read *Womankind*.
- p. 175. For *The Book of Golden Deeds* read *A Book of Golden Deeds*.
- p. 181. For *The Brownies and Other Stories* read *The Brownies and Other Tales*.
- p. 190. "Flora Shaw (1852-1929, afterwards Lady Lugard)." Are titles conferred in Heaven?
- p. 194. For Frederick Farrar read Frederic Farrar.
- p. 220. For "Martha Finley (1828-1890), who wrote under the name of Farquharson" read "who sometimes wrote . . ."
- p. 233. For *Midshipman Easy* read *Mr. Midshipman Easy*.
- p. 237. For *By Pyke and Dyke* read *By Pike and Dyke*. "Romance he [G. A. Henty] avoided." See last chapter of *With Clive in India* for a well-written love scene and four weddings.
- p. 239. For "Phil the Fiddler" read *Phil the Fiddler*.
- p. 240. For *Harry Castlemon, Boy's Own Author* read *Harry Castlemon, Boys' Own Author*.
- p. 247. For Brown read Browne (line 15).
- p. 250. For "One of Cranes" read One of Crane's.
- p. 254. "Miss Greenaway made 382 drawings, one for every day, with a full page in colour for each month." Even though 1880 was a leap-year, I can't do this sum.
- p. 255. For *A Wonder Book* read *A Wonder-Book*.

- p. 256. Supply date for Charles Carryl's *Davy and the Goblin* (1886).
- p. 258. For Spielman read Spielmann.
- p. 266. For James Otis Kalor read James Otis Kaler.
 "The devoted dog and his master . . . has [*sic*] drawn tears."
- p. 268. For Harper's Young People read *Harper's Young People*.
- p. 279. For Ik. Marvel read Ik Marvel.
- p. 283. For Cory Ford read Corey Ford.
- p. 291. For *Sing Song* read *Sing-Song*.
- p. 301. All quotations from Pyle on this page are garbled. For November 16 read November 26. Last quotation should be credited to p. 93 of Abbott.
- p. 306. For *The Wonder-Book* read *A Wonder-Book*.
 Quotation from Pyle is garbled—and censored. Pyle wrote "of murder and many other nameless wickednesses." The *History* makes this "of many other . . . wickednesses."
- p. 309. For Rehobeth read Rehoboth.
- p. 317. For Folk Lore Society read Folk-lore Society.
- p. 343. For Chevrillon read Chévrillon.
- p. 351. For *Roly Poly Pudding* read *The Roly-Poly Pudding*.
- p. 435. For Mitchel V. Charnley read Mitchell V. Charnley.
- p. 444. "Enys Tregarthen's" *The Doll Who Came Alive* was published in 1942, not 1947. (The author's real name was Nellie Sloggett.)
 For John Kier Cross read John Keir Cross (see also p. 557, and Index).
- p. 449. For Vallery Carrick read Valéry Carrick.
- p. 452. For T. Malice read Ti Malice.
- p. 453. For *Pisky Folk* read *Piskey Folk*.
- p. 454. Padraic Colum's *The King of Ireland's Son* was published in 1916, not 1921.
- p. 456. For Marguerite Clement read Marguerite Clément. For Chang Fa Shun read Chang Fa-shun.
- p. 457. For Chan Chiyi read Chan Chih-yi. Arthur C. Parker's *Skunny Wundy* was published in 1926, not 1925.
- p. 473. For *Winnie the Pooh* read *Winnie-the-Pooh*.
- p. 506. For Emma Gelders Stern read Emma Gelders Sterne.
- p. 517. For Gengis Khan read Genghis Khan.
- p. 549. For Frances Clark Sayers read Frances Clarke Sayers.
- p. 565. For Ditmar's read Ditmars'.
- p. 590. For *Lovina* read *Lovina*.
- p. 594. For gaity read gaiety.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

Washington Square Library
 New York University

*Motteux's "Love's a Jest" (1696): A Running-Title
and Presswork Problem*

Peter Motteux's play *Love's a Jest* (1696), Woodward & McManaway no. 847, is a quarto collating A⁴ a² B-L⁴. Extreme haste in production must have been necessary, for the text seems to have been divided into a number of sections for simultaneous working: either the font of the running-titles or the measure of the compositor's stick changes with bewildering frequency. The longest section is only three sheets, C-E, and in this stretch, in sheet D, appear variant running-titles which can be broken down by analysis to reveal an interesting fact about the printing.

Sheet D may contain any one of four different combinations of running-titles in their skeletons. The following arrangement is partly arbitrary and, except for copy 1, does not necessarily imply priority of printing:

Copy 1: This state is the only normal one: it comprises the first sheets to be completed, and demonstrates the original order of transfer of the skeleton-formes from sheet C to sheet D and thence to sheet E. Both the inner and outer formes of sheet C, as evidenced by the running-titles, were transferred regularly to the corresponding quarters of sheet D and similarly to E. Thus, in the outer forme, the C1 running-title is found on D1 and E1, etc.; and in the inner forme, the C1^v running-title on D1^v and E1^v, and so for the other quarters. Five copies observed: DFO, MH, PU, TxU (copy 2), Bodleian.

Copy 2: In this state the four running-titles of inner D were taken over normally from inner C, as in copy 1, so that C1^v-D1^v, etc.; but a completely new skeleton has been constructed for outer D, containing four running-titles different in setting from those in either forme of sheets C and E. It is probable but not certain that printing was concluded on this state before the completion of the state represented by copies 3 and 4. Seven copies observed: MWiW-C, TxU (copies 1, 3), Bodleian (three copies), National Library Scotland.

Copy 3: As with states 2 and 4, this state was completed only after a delay following the machining of the state represented by copy 1. The exact time-of-printing relationship of copy 3 to copies 2 and 4 is not certain, perhaps, but there would be some reason to assign completion of this state of the sheet as prior to the completion of printing the sheet in state 4. In this state 3, the outer forme of C is regularly transferred to the outer forme of D, as in copy 1, and indeed this outer forme is of the same

impression in both copies. However, the skeleton of inner D differs, for it is here the same skeleton (containing the same four running-titles) as the outer forme, perfecting the sheet after the skeleton has been turned in the process of transfer. Thus, for purposes of identification, the running-titles of outer D are in the identical positions as found in the outer formes of C and E; but in inner D the running-titles of outer D are found in the following relationship, D1^v-D4^v, D2-D3, D3^v-D2^v, D4-D1. Four copies observed: DFo, MiU, TxU (copies 5, 6).

Copy 4: This state contains in outer D the same new skeleton described under copy 2. However, its inner D skeleton is of the same impression as that in copy 3; that is, for identification, C4^v-D1^v, C3-D2, C2^v-D3^v, C1-D4. Seven copies observed: CSmH, NjP, NNC, TxU (copy 4), Bodleian, British Museum, Worcester College Oxford.

If we assign roman numbers to identify the skeleton formes, and indicate the turned skeleton II as II^t, the four states of sheet D may be graphed as follows. The skeletons of sheets C and E are, of course, invariant.

Copy 1	C(i)I	C(o)II	D(i)I	D(o)II	E(i)I	E(o)II
Copy 2			D(i)I	D(o)III		
Copy 3			D(i)II ^t	D(o)II		
Copy 4			D(i)II ^t	D(o)III		

There would appear to be only one bibliographical explanation for this very odd evidence, unique in my experience. It will be remembered that printing was rushed on this book, and that sheet E was the last of the separate sequence of sheets C, D, and E, the other sections comprising either two sheets or only one. If therefore, the various presses were working roughly simultaneously, sheet E would be completed later than any other sheet and there would be a delay in binding up the earliest copies for sale until E was available. I suggest that this delay was foreseen while sheet D was being machined, that D was deliberately underprinted, sheet E therefore being sent to press earlier than was otherwise possible, and that printing on sheet D was completed only after sheet E outer forme had been worked off and the inner forme was in process of machining.¹ Binding, therefore, could be started with the earliest impressed perfected copies of D and E, and could be completed when the final impression of

¹ The association of skeleton III with the re-imposition of D(o) is shown by disturbances in the type between D(o)II and D(o)III. In the latter, on sig. D1, line 9, an exclamation mark after "Whip" found in D(o)II has dropped out, as has a space in the last lines on the page, causing "Town we" to run together.

D became available. In the reconstruction below, it is necessary to posit the use of two presses for both impressions of sheet D and for the normal impression of sheet E. Whether a second press was introduced only with the start of sheet D, or whether two had also been used for sheet C, is not quite demonstrable, but the details of the evidence suggest that the plan to speed the completion of some copies of sheet D before the normal time was conceived only after printing on the sheet had been started with two presses; and hence it may seem more probable that two presses also machined sheet C. For this reason I adopt two-press printing for all three sheets as my working hypothesis. It is also a part of this hypothesis, as suggested by the evidence for the number of copies observed in their various states, that sheet C was printed by each press starting with a pile of white paper and printing this, each thereupon continuing without pause by perfecting the white paper printed by the other press, and that sheet D was started according to the same method. Finally, the evidence suggests that outer D (and therefore presumably outer C) started printing its white paper an hour or two before the other press began to print white paper with inner D. On the basis of these assumptions from the evidence, the following reconstruction of the course of events might be made.

Press Y, using skeleton II, began to print its white paper with D(o) and had completed approximately two thirds of its pile when printing was stopped. Skeleton II was stripped and imposed about outer E, the type-pages of outer D were tied up, and press Y printed outer E, carrying through to the end without interruption. A few hours after press Y had begun to print outer D, press Z started its pile of white paper (each pile being one half the edition-sheet, of course) printing inner D with skeleton I. Press Z had printed about one half, or slightly more, of the white paper with D(i)I, when press Y ceased operations temporarily on D(o)II and turned to machining E(o)II. At this point, press Z stopped printing white paper and began to perfect the pile of Y's white paper of D(o)II. About one half of this pile was perfected, enough to furnish sufficient copies for the initial binding-up, when press Z also pulled off working this sheet in order to begin E(i)I.

At this point, while sheet E was printing on both presses, the following piles of paper were extant for sheet D. Press Y: pile Q representing the remainder of the white paper printed by Y with D(o)II which had not been perfected by press Z before Z left off work on sheet D to proceed to sheet E. There was also a small pile, R, of completely unimpressed paper representing that portion of Y's half of the edition-sheet left un-

printed when Y transferred its efforts to sheet E. Next to press Z were the following: pile S, roughly a half of press Z's original lot of paper, printed with D(i)I but not perfected. This represents Z's original impression of white paper before it turned to perfecting with D(i)I a number of Y's D(o)II sheets. Also, there was pile T consisting of the remainder of the paper laid out for press Z but left completely unimpressed because of Z's early transfer to working sheet E. Presumably hanging on the battens and drying was pile P, a number of sheets of Y's original impression of D(o)II, perfected by Z with D(i)I before it left sheet D for E. These copies of D comprise the earliest state as found in copies 1.

When press Y finished printing E(o)II, it returned to polish off sheet D. Which forme it chose from the tied-up D type-pages can be only a matter of speculation. If the skeleton II previously associated with Y were retained, then E(o)II was laid on the distributing bench turned end for end (a not infrequent event in hand-printing), and the compositor chose to strip it for imposition about the D(i) type-pages, although press Y had previously printed D(o). If so, using D(i)II^t, press Y would very likely have perfected pile Q (the white paper remaining from Y's initial impression with D(o)II, this lot comprising copies in state 3. It could then have continued to print with D(i)II^t the small pile R of previously unimpressed paper assigned Y, following by printing with D(i)II^t the larger pile T, which was the unimpressed lot of paper left by press Z. It may be that sometime during this process, a third press, X, which had finished with another section of the book, swung over to assist with sheet D, and that a new skeleton III was constructed for its use. On the other hand, it is just as possible that when press Z finished machining E(i)I, it returned to sheet D. The use of a newly made-up skeleton III would then need to be explained as an attempt to save delay in press time by imposing D(o) with a new skeleton to obviate an idle press Z while its forme E(i)I was being rinsed and stripped. The compositor who had rinsed and stripped E(o)II and imposed it about inner D as D(i)II^t could well have performed this service after making his first imposition.

Such a hypothetical reconstruction, however, contains two irregularities. (1) It provides for a speed-up of printing when press Z shifted back from sheet E to sheet D, but accepts the delay when, earlier, press Y had returned to complete its share of sheet D, since Y would have been idle while E(o)II was rinsed, stripped, and imposed about inner D as D(i)II^t. (2) It accepts a not impossible yet still a rather odd shift in the formes when for no useful reason that can be determined press Y chooses the D(i)

type-pages instead of the D(o) pages which it had previously printed. Finally, if a third press intervened, it is odd that a new skeleton-forme was constructed for it and that we do not find in use one of the skeletons previously employed by that press elsewhere in the book, even though the font of type in the running-titles might have differed from that originally used for sheet D.

The preferred reconstruction, therefore, which provides not only for complete regularity but also for greatest efficiency, is the following. When the two presses were working on sheets C and D, as well as E, each had used only one skeleton, presumably because press speed was ahead of compositorial speed and no time would be saved by the two-skeleton method of printing. But when each press returned to complete work on sheet D, this factor no longer obtained, of course. Hence I conjecture that when press Y finished E(o)II, the compositor had somewhat earlier reimposed standing D(o), with the new skeleton III in order to prevent delay in the presswork. The order of impression with this D(o)III cannot be precisely determined. Further completed copies would have been secured most quickly if press Y first perfected pile S, which contained press Z's white paper printed with D(i)I. This would have produced copies of state 2. Next, presumably, Y would proceed to print with D(o)III pile T, press Z's untouched remaining paper, and conclude with pile R, its own previously unprinted lot of paper.

Press Z was occupied with E(i)I for a certain time after press Y had returned to sheet D. By the time that Z had finished work on E, the compositor had been able to rinse Y's E(o)II and to impose it (turned) about the standing type-pages of D(i), thus forestalling any delay in presswork for press Z and utilizing the only available made-up skeleton. The order of impression for press Z is not demonstrable, but it would have been most efficient in terms of maximum drying time for Y's printing if Z had first perfected pile Q, the remainder of Y's original impression, this producing copies in state 3. Presumably, Z then continued by perfecting with D(i)II^t pile T, only shortly before printed by Y with D(o)III, this producing copies of state 4; and printing was concluded with more copies of state 4 by the perfecting with D(i)II^t of pile R, printed by Y with D(o)III.

From the case-history of this book and its analysis, several points of bibliographical interest may be mentioned. (1) Running-titles may provide for seventeenth-century books the same evidence for deliberate underprinting to speed the publication of early copies that press-figures may

offer in the eighteenth century.² (2) Running-titles showing a two-skeleton pattern for successive sheets do not necessarily indicate efficient one-press printing but may conceal two presses each employing the one-skeleton method. If sheet D had not been underprinted, but instead all copies had been machined in the normal state I, the presence of two presses could not have been determined. (3) The detection of interesting printing evidence such as this must usually depend upon the comparison of copies in a number of libraries against a control copy or film. So far as I know, all four states are found in only one library, that is, among the six copies at the University of Texas, although three of the states are present in the five Bodleian holdings.³

FREDSON BOWERS

The University of Virginia

*"The Ford County Journal" (1859-1860):
An Unrecorded Illinois Newspaper*

Edmund Janes James, chief administrator of two universities in his native state (Northwestern University, 1901-1904; the University of Illinois, 1904-1920), was professor of public administration at the third (the University of Chicago), before he began his eminent career as an educational statesman. In 1899, when he was still at the University of Chicago, he issued a list of *Newspapers Published in Illinois Prior to 1860*, which was the first serious effort in the State of Illinois to save these unequaled sources of historical data. James wrote in the introduction to this slight volume: "The newspapers of a community form one of the valuable sources of its history, and if we could only get complete files of Illinois newspapers, it would be possible to write a fair history of the state from these alone."

The James list did not record any paper for Paxton, Ford County, Illinois, but even later bibliographies fail to mention any newspaper published there before 1864. Neither the extensive volume published in 1910

² See W. B. Todd on press figures as evidence for underprinting in *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1951), 190, and IV (1952), 47; *The Library*, 5th ser., VI (1951), 103-4; *PAPERS*, XLVI (1952), 55-56.

³ This study was made in preparation for a descriptive bibliography of the Restoration Drama, a project supported by funds from the Research Committee of the University of Virginia as well as from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center.

by Franklin William Scott,¹ entitled *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* and designated by the compiler as a revision and enlargement of James's volume, nor the *Union List of Newspapers*, edited by Winifred Gregory in 1937, records the *Ford County Journal*, the subject of this Note.

To set down the bibliographical details on this first paper of Paxton and Ford County, Illinois:

THE FORD County JOURNAL. | An Independent Paper: Devoted to Agriculture, Education, Politics, Temperance, Literature, Social Reform, News and The Interests of Central Illinois. | Paxton, Ill[inois].

Weekly. 25½" x 19¼" (from March 15, 1860, or Vol. no. 16, on: 19¾"); 7 columns per page (8 from Vol. 1, no. 16 on). A "Fourth of July extra" issued July 5, 1860 (instead of regular paper). This is of smaller format: 19½" x 12¾".

November 24, 1859 (Vol. 1, no. 1)-March 1, 1860, March 15, 1860-October 4, November 8-December 20, 1860 (Vol. 2, no. 5, whole no. 55).

Emblem at head of page 1 of numbers 1-14, a circular symbol, two inches in diameter: an eagle hovering above a turbulent sea, supporting a beacon, symbolizing the American flag, and with a ribbon flying from his beak, bearing the inscription "State sovereignty, national union"; in the background a shore line, which shows human habitation. This emblem no longer appears in the issues Vol. 1, no. 16, and following.

The indifference of the historians to the rich and unequaled sources of factual information in newspapers has resulted in a most disappointing loss of untold files. A superficial study of Scott's list reveals hundreds of titles among the over 3,000 described as having been published during those sixty-five years as existing at the time of publication of the list (1910) in name only. Many of those reported by Scott with files in one or more of the fifteen institutions checked for holdings have joined that first group of empty names, as may be seen in a comparison with Miss Gregory's *Union List* of 1937. Discoveries of issues of such lost files ought to be hailed with satisfaction, especially of long, practically complete files like those of the *Ford County Journal*, published in Paxton, Illinois, from November 24, 1859, to December 20, 1860.

Ford County had been formally established by legislative action on February 17, 1859. Two years before, in November, 1857, the Illinois Central Railroad had opened a station on the spot, which at first was

¹ F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*. Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library, 1910.

named Prospect City and later renamed Paxton, in honor of Sir Joseph Paxton, contemporary English horticulturist and architect. An account in the *Ford County Journal* of December 1, 1859 (no. 2) extolled Paxton's unusually fortunate location in a healthy, agriculturally and economically favored part of the prairie province of Illinois, which already had 500 to 600 inhabitants, five stores, two hotels, two blacksmith shops, one stove and tin shop, etc., and which had added during the current season "one large, commodious schoolhouse, seven store-rooms and other buildings." Two churches were projected, and "The proprietors of the town propose to give a lot and two hundred dollars to each and every denomination that will build a church costing not less than twelve hundred dollars." Enthusiasm over all the natural advantages of the place led the editor to say that

With ordinary ability, industry, and favorable crops, we must grow to a population of 5000 persons in five or six years. There are greater inducements for farmers to move to the rich, rolling prairies around Paxton than any place we know of in the West, as unimproved lands can be bought at from \$5.00 to \$15.00 per acre and improved lands from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per acre. Many of these lands can be bought on long credit, and as it costs only 20¢ per bushel of wheat and corn and 76¢ per barrel of flour to New York City at this time, we have no hesitation in saying that these are the cheapest lands in the Union . . .

It is quite probable that these flattering notions about Paxton and Ford County influenced Dr. John W. Scroggs in extending his journalistic efforts, begun the year before with the *Central Illinois Gazette* in West Urbana (which became Champaign City in the summer of 1860), to the new county north of Champaign. He was, like most of the more than 3,000 inhabitants of the "two Urbanas," quite new in the area, having arrived from Ohio in 1857, and was probably ready like the rest to move to better prospects on the slightest inducement.

Scroggs and his associate, W. O. Stoddard, appeared as editors in the first two issues of the *Ford County Journal*, to be joined by a local Paxton realtor, insurance man and bill collector, one Daniel S. Morse, as announced in the third issue (December 8, 1859).

In the first issue (November 24, 1859) the editorial on page 2 read in part:

We take a pride in calling the attention of all to whom this specimen sheet may come, to its general mechanical execution and appearance, a degree of excellence, which it will be our pleasure to preserve . . . We request a fair degree of patronage at the hands of the people of Ford county. We believe that no

good citizen can afford to be without it, as he cannot otherwise obtain a proper degree of information with reference to the legal and other news of his county . . . The news of the day, foreign and domestic, the markets, both abroad and at home, will be carefully and fully reported, and especial attention will be given to agricultural matters.

On page 3 of this same issue the editors make further reference to "Our appearance" and complain:

No one who has not tried it, is aware of the many vexatious difficulties attendant upon preparation of the first few numbers of a newspaper. We promise our readers that as fast as possible we will make the various improvements which the circumstances seem to call for.

Among the difficulties alluded to probably the most restrictive was the lack of financial support. The death rate among newspapers was enormous. F. W. Scott, in the introduction to his bibliography, reported that "but a few more than a thousand papers [were] still extant out of a total of about three thousand . . . But a third of all those hopefully begun have endured the 'halcyon and vociferous.' The newspaper press spread northward over the State like a prairie fire; like a fire it has often flared and smoked and gone out."

The owners and editors of the *Central Illinois Gazette* were no exceptions. In the 44th issue of the second volume of their paper (January 18, 1860) they issued the following call "To our subscribers":

As we are now fast approaching the end of our second volume it is proper for us to draw the attention of our delinquent subscribers to the fact that they are falling behind somewhat rapidly. It is our intention to make a complete settlement of all old accounts, and to conduct our business hereafter, as far as possible, upon a strictly cash basis. As several hundreds of our friends are now in our debt for two years subscription, we will allow them in order to facilitate collections, to pay both years at once at the *advance rates*, any time between this and the tenth of March next, and our agents are hereby authorized to receipt for both volumes for *three dollars*. We trust that all will avail themselves of this opportunity to save two or three dollars, as our books must be balanced.

We take this opportunity of saying to good Republicans in Champaign County and vicinity that no pains will be spared to make the *Gazette* a wide awake and efficient campaign paper, and to urge upon them the good policy of extending its influence to the utmost possible degree. It will be necessary that such counties as this should return heavy majorities to counter balance those from less enlightened portions of the state, and secure the state and electoral ticket for the Republicans.

In spite of this sobering experience in his own town and county, and in spite of unsuccessful earlier attempts at establishing a paper in Paxton—referred to in the editorial announcement in the first issue—Scroggs decided to print a paper for Paxton and Ford County. He did so by using the plates of the *Central Illinois Gazette* for the previous day, changing only the masthead; adding several columns of advertising for Paxton firms; and finally by adding editorial material on page 3, varying from short articles to some of considerable length. On page 3 there also appeared a column with short local items, for Paxton and Ford County.

The emblem in the masthead is different from that of the *Central Illinois Gazette*, which does not have the patriotic connotation of that in the *Ford County Journal*. The central position in the *Central Illinois Gazette* is taken by a female figure, seated, with a scroll and scales in her left hand, and a distaff in her right. At the lower right of this figure is a ribbon bearing the word "Enterprise." The background to the left shows factory buildings with chimneys and a railroad dam with an underpass; to the right open water with several sailing vessels. Both emblems were abandoned with the issues of March 7 and 8, 1860, when both papers increased in size and were printed in eight instead of seven columns.

From the fourth issue (December 15, 1859) to the last, no. 55, the *Journal* printed the following appeal:

PROSPECTUS OF THE Ford County Journal, An Agricultural and Family Newspaper, published at PAXTON, FORD CO[unty], ILL[inois]: IN ORDER TO SECURE FOR THE CITIZENS of Paxton and the County of Ford the undeniable advantage of a newspaper organ, we have commenced the publication of the FORD COUNTY JOURNAL, a twenty-eight column newspaper, (later "a thirty-two column newspaper") devoted to the advocacy of the claims of this locality to the attention of all who propose settling in Illinois, and intending to supply our readers with a suitable medium for the publication of interesting or valuable local matter.

No community like our own can be fairly brought before the world in any other way, nor can the people of this county afford to do without such an institution.

We shall devote the necessary space to the discussion of all subjects that may arise affecting in any way the popular welfare.

The cause of Education, Religion, Temperance, and the preservation of social order, will be advocated to the extent of our ability.

Agriculture, and the great improvements now being made in prairie farming, will receive a full share of attention.

The news of the Day, the Markets, domestic and foreign, the Crops, and

the legal business of the county, will find their appropriate places in our columns.

No pains will be spared to make the Journal in appearance and workmanship a credit to the county and the community.

Our terms of subscription will be One Dollar and Fifty Cents per year, *in advance*.

We respectfully solicit a full share of public patronage, that we may be able to accomplish with greater efficiency the important ends proposed.

J. W. Scroggs, W. O. Stoddard, D. S. Morse.

The *Ford County Journal* was published primarily to aid the Republican cause, and, during most of its life, the claim of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency of the United States. The ringing call of the *Central Illinois Gazette* in its issue of January 18, 1860, to all Republicans to extend the influence of the *Gazette*, "a wide awake and efficient campaign paper . . . to the utmost . . ." was clearly an implementation of the campaign instructions, reprinted from the *New York Tribune* in the *Gazette and Journal* of January 11/12, 1860. Point 4 of these instructions suggested:

Make arrangements at once with the best Republican journals, giving the preference to those of your own country, for supplying their respective sheets for the ensuing year, at the lowest possible cash price. Let it be the business of each club, and the special duty of the county agent or actuary, to get a good Republican paper subscribed and paid for by every person in the county who can be induced to take one. Have specimens of all the journals at hand, and let every man take that which he prefers, but try to strengthen the local journals as much as possible. Of course, we mean *good* journals, conducted by editors of unquestionable ability, integrity, as we trust most Republican journals are. To circulate any other is to damage seriously the cause you desire to promote. But, having procured specimens of the best, let a united systematic effort be promptly made to put one into the hands of every voter who can be induced to pay the lowest cash price for it. And if there be any one who, by reason of some Providential affliction is unable to pay, be sure that he has a copy supplied him without charge, and is thanked for taking it.

In a lengthy editorial, in its issue of December 8, 1859, entitled "Who Shall be President?", the *Ford County Journal* (and the *Central Illinois Gazette* the day before) expressed original ideas concerning the prospects of a number of candidates, for the first time. The essence: Illinois and Pennsylvania are key states to the Republican cause. ". . . If these two states can be added to the number of those in which the party seem [*sic*] to possess an unassailable superiority, the day is ours . . ." It is thought desirable, to nominate the candidates for both President and Vice-President

from these two states. Illinois would probably be willing to concede the presidency, in the interest of ultimate victory, even though the incumbent was from Pennsylvania. As to Illinois' candidate, there is no hesitancy in affirming that Abraham Lincoln is the people's choice, for either office. The paper states: "We in Illinois know him well; in the best sense of the word a *true Democrat*, a man of the people, whose strongest friends and supporters are the hard-handed and strong-limbed laboring men, who hail him as a brother, and who look upon him as one of their real representative men . . ."

On December 22, 1859, the *Journal* reported on a number of newspapers which had "nominated" Lincoln for the presidency, including the *Aurora Beacon* (Illinois) and the *Reading Journal* (Pennsylvania). The *Leavenworth Register* was said to have reported that Lincoln's popularity was gaining rapidly in Kansas.

On January 18/19, both the *Central Illinois Gazette* and the *Ford County Journal* came forward with an editorial entitled "Lincoln for President." The candidate was assayed at length. His honesty and ability were set in the proper light. His "geographic position" was summed up thus: "With 'Old Abe' for President, and some sound and strong man from Pennsylvania or New Jersey for Vice-President, the Republican Party could carry the West in one unbroken sweep from the woods of Minnesota far South of Mason and Dixon's line . . ." As to his political record, the common remark was quoted that "Abe Lincoln is too honest to be a good politician," he is "altogether too much absorbed in his duties and too good a citizen to sully his character by mixing with intrigue, or the 'mercantile transactions' of American political warfare. His record as a politician is a clear and a shining one."

The major interest of the nation is reflected in every issue of both *Journal* and *Gazette*: all aspects of the emancipation problem from John Brown to the "Egyptians" in Southern Illinois, from the federal to the local, from the important to the farcical.

On October 31, 1860, the *Central Illinois Gazette* (the *Journal* for that date is missing) announced: "The *Gazette* will hardly be on time next week, for we shall hold back until the returns are in from States enough to enable us to tell our readers definitely and positively what the result is. We might almost as well say that we won't get out another *Gazette* until we are sure that Abe Lincoln is elected the next President of the United States." In the same column the visit of two "old citizens" is reported, one from Salem, Marion County, Illinois, bringing "an encour-

aging report of the condition of political affairs among the Egyptians," and one coming from Missouri about whom the paper says that "we are glad to find that a little practical experience of life in a slave state has materially modified his Democracy. With a little more reasoning he would undoubtedly vote for Old Abe."

The enthusiasm over the cause is continually tempered with admonitions of caution. In the same issue the editors remark that "Champaign is a strong Republican town, yet sad experience has taught us how easily we can throw away all the advantages of our position. We have now a Democratic mayor, one Democratic alderman and a Democratic city attorney. We all know by whose treachery this was accomplished, but let us see to it that the same game is not played over again on a larger scale. Let every man go to the polls bright and early and vote at once, and vote the whole ticket, without scratching a single name. There is not a man on the ticket who is unworthy of your vote, not a man who, if elected, will not serve the people well and faithfully."

Elsewhere they write, under the heading "The Banner Town": "Champaign is, or ought to be, the banner Republican town of eastern Illinois. Let us roll up such a majority next Tuesday as shall make good our claim to this proud position. Abe Lincoln was first named for the Presidency by your own home paper, the CENTRAL ILLINOIS GAZETTE. Now let us all go in and endorse the nomination." This reference qualifies the *Gazette* for "that large class made up of first papers to suggest Abraham Lincoln for the presidency."²

The *Journal* as well as the *Gazette* came out on November 7 and 8, 1860, with headlines (unusually large for that day): *The County All Right!*, *FUSION DEFEATED.*, *The Bolters Utterly Demolished!*" It reported 492 votes cast in Champaign, and suggested that "No one will now venture to question the solidity of the Republican organization in this county after conquering in such a struggle as this." On the same page, but only in the *Journal*, Ford County's official tally appeared, reflecting a decided Republican victory, with 235 votes cast for Lincoln and 148 for Douglas. The editors unabashedly asserted: "*The Nation Safe! Old Abe Lincoln Elected! THE WHOLE NORTH IS REPUBLICAN.*"

It is not surprising, in view of their financial difficulties, that soon after these valiant campaign efforts had been crowned by such overwhelming success, the editors should try to consolidate their strength. From the is-

² Scott, p. 78.

sue of November 21, 1860, to the last one published on December 20, 1860, the *Ford County Journal* published the following appeal in the first column of the second page:

TO THE PUBLIC: The campaign now brought to a triumphant close has been an expensive and laborious one to the publishers of the *Journal*. We have spared neither time, work, nor money, so far as our ability went, in doing what we could for the good cause. We find, that our own affairs now require an urgent attention.—There is hardly a corner of this great county which does not owe the *Journal* for subscription or advertising. We need the money, and we need it *now*. We sincerely hope that our subscribers will promptly respond to this call and we on our part promise to settle “liberally.” All those owing us money are hereby informed that we shall be compelled to straighten all accounts between this and January 1st.

This appeal apparently went largely unheeded. For the issue of the *Journal* for December 20, 1860, carried, in addition to this appeal and to the original Prospectus, published in every issue since the fourth, this note entitled “*TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS*,” on page 3:

The subscribers of the *Ford County Journal* are aware of the fact that we have been furnishing them with the *Journal* for over a year. When we made the proposition to thus supply your wants, we were made to believe, and a promise given, that over two hundred responsible subscribers would be procured, and four columns of advertising [*sic*], besides the job-work and legal printing of the county. We have had but little of the job-work of the county to do, and not half the number of subscribers as promised. The Sheriff’s delinquent tax-list we printed, which was paid for as agreed. While our connection with the people of Ford County and Paxton as journalists has been exceedingly pleasant, yet the remuneration which we have received will not justify us to continue the *Journal* in its present form; we therefore, for the present shall send the “*CENTRAL ILLINOIS GAZETTE*” to all our subscribers for the year. We shall give Paxton and Ford county a prominence in our paper, and thus keep up our friendly relations, until something better presents itself. During the coming year we may be able to establish something that will be of more benefit to you and profitable to ourselves.

The editors’ expectancy of no more than “over two hundred responsible subscribers” seems modest indeed. F. W. Scott stated that in the first stages of journalism in Illinois “Four hundred subscribers were considered a satisfactory number.”³

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

It is small wonder that the *Ford County Journal* did not long survive the Lincoln victory. Though the editors had attempted to entrench the paper in the hearts and in the economy of the new community, they could not cope with the obvious inadequacy of the means available for other things than the tools and devices called for in a pioneer society, operating largely on credit. Political enthusiasm sufficed for a short while only, and obviously got little if any financial reward.

ICKO IBEN

University of Illinois

Book Reviews

BLUM, RUDOLF. *Der Prozess Fust gegen Gutenberg*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1954. 118 pp. 10 x 7 inches. (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, Band 2).

This, the most recent work on the "Gutenberg problem" to appear in print, will command the attention of every student of prototypography. Unfortunately, it is not an easy book to read. The use of the subjunctive *plus* the conditional (especially in German) makes all things possible—and Rudolf Blum seems to exploit the potentialities of this technique rather fully; the results, however possible they may be, are not necessarily the more probable for that same reason. And tentative hypotheses in Blum's study grow into established facts with remarkable ease.

The work falls into two parts; in the first, Blum examines the Helmasperger Notariatsinstrument with all the panoply of the linguistic and legal equipment belonging to the "record interpreter"; the second part sets forth the deductions which Blum draws from this document in relation to the earliest Mainz printing. Helmasperger's document is, however, an extremely difficult one to interpret, as Blum is well aware; indeed, he maintains that it exhibits faulty reporting by the notary (pp. 8, 28, etc.) and that it requires extensive revision and emendation (e.g., pp. 15 and 31) in order to make it intelligible. Whenever such reconstruction is necessary, especially in the total absence of any independent evidence or supplemental documentary material for control, it is unlikely that any two scholars will agree wholly as to the proper interpretation. Here is one slight, but extremely significant, example of the sort of problem which the interpreter must face. Gutenberg was required by the Court to give an accounting of his financial transactions with Fust; thereby (p. 29), it was to be determined if Gutenberg had received "men gelts" from Fust than was provided by their agreement. Now, unfortunately, modern scholarship is uncertain whether "men gelts" means more (*me*) or less (*myn*) money (pp. 31-39). It is certainly obvious that, though *we*

may not be certain whether more or less money was involved, there could have been no doubt of the meaning in the minds of Fust, Gutenberg and Helmasperger; no legal document could be *that* confusing in its own day! This is a basic point, which (all apart from the facts of the case) must have meant the same to all concerned; five centuries later, however, it is far from certain which was the true meaning. As long as such elementary statements are unclear to us, it seems manifest that no analysis of the document's contents will be the final one until other "control material" comes to light. Blum's beliefs seem to this reviewer no less (and no more) credible than some of those by other scholars with which he differs; it is very definitely to his credit, nevertheless, that Blum sets forth in detail the major interpretations which he has himself rejected as unlikely.

In the course of his analysis, Blum makes some statements which, one may well believe, would strain the bounds of credence of any experienced businessman. On page 104, for example, Blum suggests that, since Gutenberg was a dubious financial risk, no one would lend him *all* the money he needed for his undertaking; consequently Fust lent Gutenberg only 800 gulden and invested a like amount in the business as a partner. It seems most unusual, to say the least, for a financier to enter into partnership with a man to whom he was unwilling to extend additional credit for an amount equal to what he would put into the business. If a loan was risky, how much more uncertain would an "equity" investment have been. At this point, the author seems to have forgotten entirely that he had suggested (on p. 59) that Gutenberg was "der überlegene Partner" who *permitted* Fust to invest his money in the business rather than that Gutenberg had come to Fust begging for a loan. It appears somewhat unlikely, at least to this writer, that any experienced man of business (such as Johann Fust) would have been anxious to venture large sums of money in a project for which, according to Blum, there was no evidence (i.e., no printed book) at hand to encourage the belief that such a venture might become commercially profitable. It was Fust's claim that, with interest, his investment in the printing business totalled over 2,000 gulden—a *very* considerable amount of money in those days. Indeed, this was the equivalent of ten years' salary for so prominent a citizen as Dr. Konrad Humery, the "Stadtkanzler" of Mainz and the leader of the guilds in their successful feud with the "landed gentry." Even if only the 1,600 gulden be admitted, which (Blum agrees) Fust advanced to Gutenberg, this was so large a sum that Fust was unable to raise it himself and had to borrow

in the open market. The fifteenth century had some rather unpleasant ways of dealing with defaulting borrowers, as Fust was well aware. Consequently, we may be quite sure Fust had satisfied himself as to the practical possibility of Gutenberg's invention, and that he felt certain that he would be able to recapture his investment one way or another.

There are even more curious arguments to be found in Blum's analysis of the financial relationship between Gutenberg and Fust. Blum suggests (p. 59) that Gutenberg, the "dominant partner," gave Fust a formal note in which Gutenberg agreed to pay Fust six per cent interest a year—even though Gutenberg had been assured by Fust that the latter would not demand the interest which the former had no intention of paying anyway. Blum explains this singular arrangement by insisting that this was merely a protection for Fust in the event that Gutenberg's business went bankrupt. But if the business failed, Fust (as Gutenberg's creditor) could take over the plant and equipment (and, of course, actually did so); while Blum elsewhere asserts (p. 57) that Gutenberg had no other private means of any consequence which could be seized for non-payment of interest. How—and from whom—Fust was to collect the interest when he could not even recapture his principal is not made evident; and to assert that this contract (which proved to be his undoing) was one initiated or endorsed by Gutenberg, the dominant partner, seems absurd. Such arguments as these will explain sufficiently, I am sure, why Blum's account of the transactions between Gutenberg and Fust in the years 1449-1455 fails to be wholly satisfactory to this reader.

In the second part of his work, Blum applies the inferences he has drawn from his study of the Notariatsinstrument to the extant, early printings of Mainz. For this reader certainly, Blum's conclusions in regard to the *Missale Speciale Constantiense* are most interesting, the Morgan Library having recently acquired the Romont copy of this book. While Blum agrees that the Missal was printed with type derived from the punches of the small Psalter fount (used by Fust and Schöffer in 1457), he does not believe (as the Library does) that the Missal preceded the 42-line Bible (B⁴²). Blum maintains that this book was printed shortly after 1455 by an apprentice of Gutenberg's at work in Basel. His arguments for the priority of B⁴², like his discussions of the Instrument, are not always easy to follow; in the main, they rest upon such very slight evidence as the double forms of the capitals *C*, *E* and *F* in B⁴². Blum says that the B⁴² capitals were cut with curved shafts (or stems), while the (to him, later) Psalter capitals had straight ones; when addi-

tional capitals were wanted for B⁴², these (*C*, *E* and *F*) were cut with straight shafts, this "proving" that the tendency lay in the direction of straight shafts. The validity of this "proof" is not apparent to me. One can just as easily argue that the Psalter's straight shafts came first and that the B⁴² curved ones were experimental variants; when it became necessary to supply new ones, the designer returned to the older, more satisfactory, forms. Clearly, such arguments are not proof; indeed, they are at best no more than surmises. In any event, what about the capitals *B* and *D* which, according to Blum, appeared with both curved and straight shafts in B⁴² from the very beginning?

The really awkward problem for all scholars who believe in the primacy of the 42-line Bible is the fact that the Missal is there to confound them. It is generally conceded nowadays that the Missal was indifferently printed in a variant state of the small Psalter fount. Blum seeks to explain the existence of the Missal on the basis that it was printed by a former assistant who had obtained the type with the knowledge and possible encouragement of Gutenberg. Obviously, if the book was *not* printed by Gutenberg, then it must have been printed by someone else—and all explanations along these lines (including Blum's) lead to rather embarrassing contradictions. Limitations of space prevent a full explanation of the facts, but some of the contradictions found in Blum's hypothesis may be outlined here.

To substantiate his thesis, Blum denies the existence of a "Vorstufe" of the Psalter type on the very same page (p. 89) where he maintains that there were two states (one would necessarily precede the other). These states are the one with the earlier second form of *r* ("damals noch nicht ausgeschieden") and that one with this character already discarded ("verworfen") by Schöffer. There was no Vorstufe? Blum maintains (p. 88) that the Missal printer could not have been a "Stempelschneider" since he used a filed-down *z*; but Gutenberg, Fust and Schöffer also used filed-down letters. Were these gentlemen also not type cutters, and if they were not, who was? Blum suggests that the Constance Missal was printed shortly after 1455 (p. 89, n. 1), while on page 102, he categorically states that after the collapse of the Gutenberg-Fust partnership "vergingen zwei Jahrzehnte, ehe überhaupt das erste Messbuch gedruckt wurde." This is a very startling contradiction indeed. On p. 98, Blum stresses the desire and need (both strongly presented by Cardinal Nicolaus von Cues) for accuracy in the production of Missals; as long ago as 1899, the Abbé E. Misset pointed out the gross inaccuracies of the Constance

Missal. One wonders how the scholarly Cusanus would have enjoyed this example of the new art, or how he could henceforth have trusted the accuracy of this method of producing liturgical books if the Constance Missal had been shown to him after he became Bishop of Brixen in 1450? How many students of the earliest printing will agree with this naïve remark by Blum (p. 103; italics of German words are mine): "Hier kann die neue Kunst helfen, *haec sancta ars*, wie Cusanus sie nennen wird: sie liefert *identische* Kopien *korrekter* Exemplare, hundert, zweihundert auf einmal." Further, no one who has ever seen the Constance Missal could possibly agree with Blum's contention (p. 94) that the printers of the Türkenkalender and of this Missal "hatten von Gutenberg alles gelernt, was ein Drucker können musste." However it may be with the former (which does not concern us here), the latter must have been a fantastically stupid and clumsy pupil indeed—one who could not even comprehend the technical significance of Gutenberg's "fitted-letters" (Anschlussbuchstaben). How one could possibly argue that any craftsman, after having learned from Gutenberg "everything that a printer needed to know" during the printing of that typographical masterpiece, the 42-line Bible, could then turn out so inaccurate and inept a piece of work as the Constance Missal seems utterly incredible.

Finally I am puzzled by a legal point raised by Blum's hypothesis. Fust was, of course, both creditor and partner to Gutenberg: in his former capacity, he held a chattel-mortgage on the entire printing plant; as the latter, he was certainly entitled to know what was going on around the shop. How could Gutenberg, without Fust's permission and/or knowledge, alienate part of their joint property, material (furthermore) which had been pledged to Fust as security under the loan? Yet Blum maintains (pp. 88-89) that Gutenberg may even have encouraged his assistant to establish himself with equipment which formed part of the Gutenberg-Fust joint project. Would not Gutenberg thereby have committed a breach of agreement—or worse? If we assume that an assistant did obtain a supply of type from Gutenberg, it seems unlikely that such material could have been retained by him if Fust chose to claim it under his chattel-mortgage. It is equally unlikely that Fust would have permitted illegal competition of this sort to arise in Mainz when he was in full possession of the legal means to put such a competitor out of business by the simple process of claiming the type (property easily identifiable). Indeed, as co-owner of the business, Fust could claim the fount of type as part of *his* property as well as part of the pledge. If, however, the supposed assistant

had fled to Basel far beyond the reach of legal action by Fust, may one not presume that Gutenberg had made himself criminally liable by conspiring to defraud Fust of his property and had thus laid himself open to prosecution by Fust? No action along these lines was brought against Gutenberg, however, and he continued to remain in the good graces of the Archbishop of Mainz until the inventor's death some ten years later. No, indeed; so far as this reviewer is concerned, Blum's account of the origin of the Constance Missal is not at all convincing.

The importance of Rudolf Blum's study has necessitated this rather lengthy review. While this writer cannot agree with the author in many particulars, there is much of value and significance in this volume. As a survey of the present state of our knowledge concerning the beginnings of printing, it is a most valuable contribution; this alone would make the work a necessary reference book for every student of the earliest printings in Mainz.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1953. Begründet und herausgegeben von Aloys Ruppel. Mainz, Verlag der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, [1953]. 224 pp. [With plates.] 10½ x 8¼ inches.

This issue of the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* has the customary broad scope and wide field of contributors. Its thirty-nine articles are drawn from ten countries and are written in five languages: they cover almost every aspect and period of the printed word. This year there is no section devoted to pre-typographic printing; on the other hand, a section devoted to bibliophily is a welcome innovation.

In the section devoted to lettering, Hermann Zapf examines the stylistic theory of Roman capitals in the Renaissance, and Lamberto Donati discusses two sets of initials incorporating a crown, which he takes to be the personal emblem of the engraver. In the section on paper, the late K. T. Weiss describes the use of watermarks in identifying the nature and date of an early eighteenth-century manuscript *Kompetenzbuch* of Württemberg; A. W. Kazmeier describes a work about asbestos printed on asbestos paper, at Brunswick in 1727; and Armin Renker describes Louis Nicolas Robert's invention of the paper-making machine.

Ernst Kyriss gives an account of thirty-seven incunabula, presented to monastic libraries by their printers, with special reference to their bind-

ings. Herbert Schulz, by a comparison of the Passion series in the British Museum and Huntington Library collections, attributes both series to the same master, from the Nuremberg school of woodcut; and points out that the characteristics of this school are also found in woodcuts used in several works printed at Bamberg by Pfister. Kurt Ohly concludes that the unsigned illustrated Lucian *Asinus aureus*¹ was printed by Eggestein, as Polain had tentatively suggested, and assigns it to the latter half of 1478. Claude Dalbanne continues his series of articles on Lyonese playing-card printers with an article on Jacques Vise. Curt Bühler draws attention to the existence of two settings of the first two quires of the *Manipulus florum* of 1483. P. Volk reports the discovery, in the binding of an incunable in the Abbey Library of Maria Laach, of the last quire of a hitherto unknown edition of the German prose version of the *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi*, printed at Augsburg by Schaur in 1495. He adds that the Goslar fragment of this text,² hitherto ascribed to Schönsperger, is typographically identical with, and must form part of, this edition; while the Basel fragment,³ hitherto ascribed to Schaur, varies dialectally, as well as typographically, from the Goslar/Laach edition, and must be ascribed to some other printer. F. Geldner points out that the names of many well-known German printers of the fifteenth century, including Hermann Lichtenstein, Ulrich Han, and Johann Zainer, occur in the membership roll of the German fraternity *B. Maria de Anima* in Rome.

The section dealing with the period 1501-1900 contains a number of continuations. Maria Lanckorońska contributes a further article on the "Petrarcameister"; the second of Martin von Hase's articles on early printing at Erfurt gives bibliographical descriptions of fourteen works printed by Andreas Rauscher, and describes six of his title-page borders; Herbert Koch's latest article on early printing at Jena sets out archival evidence to supplement Lütge's account of the late 1550's; and Josef Benzing now goes on to describe the first press at Aschaffenburg, established in 1620, and enumerates its products.

Prof. A. Servolini gives an account of the history of printing at Lugo. He mentions, without any discussion, the edition of the *Opera aurea* of Angelus de Aretio, which, according to Sander, bears the imprint "Impressum Lugo per Ioānnā Moylin, als de Cambray, 1514." According to Sander, a copy was catalogued by Thorp in 1926 at £2.2.0. I have been

¹ Polain 2526.

² GW. 2041.

³ GW. 2042.

able to find no other record of this book; and until a copy is found it will be impossible even to verify the transcript in Sander, whose accuracy is at least questionable on grounds of palaeography; let alone to assume that "Lugo" represents *Lucus Dianae* (i.e. Lugo), rather than *Lucus Feroniae* (i.e. Pietrasanta) or one of the places called Luc in France, where a French printer might be more at home. Professor Servolini follows Fumagalli in doubting the tradition that there was a press at Lugo in 1637 and in stating that the first book printed there was Barbaro's *Orazione in lode di Maria Vergine* of 1795.

Rudolf Hirsch gives a detailed description of the first printed Protestant *Eheordnung*, which was printed at Tübingen, presumably by Morhart. He suggests that as the text contains no introductory enacting paragraph, and the leaflet itself has no imprint, it may represent a preliminary draft, and may be dated after December 22, 1534, and before the autumn of 1536. Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez describes the letter-foundry established by Prieto and Velasco in Salamanca in 1781; she associates this development with the flourishing school of poets, led by Meléndez Valdés, which existed in Salamanca at that time. Paul Leemann describes the circumstances of Wieland's "piratical" reprint, in 1757, of Klopstock's *Der Tod Adams*. R. E. Horch describes the earliest printing in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, by Viegas de Menezes in 1806. Prof. Leitmeier gives an account of the collectors' editions published by the Österreichische Staatsdruckerei.

Dr. Schmidt-Künsemüller gives an account of Tieffenbach's "*Officina Serpentis*," and assesses its contribution to the revival of fine printing in Germany; the article is illustrated with facsimiles of his *Hesoid* and *Dante*. Hedwig Gollob describes the work in book design of Otto Hurm, and F. L. S. Dugan the Pear Tree Press of James Guthrie.

In the field of binding, Ilse Schunke discusses the "Classical Master" of Paris who executes bindings for Grolier and others; and Elfriede Leskien describes a group of early eighteenth-century English bindings, now in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, which illustrate the main English styles of the period, and considers them in the light of contemporary Baroque influences in Europe.

In the section devoted to book-collecting, Amédée Boinet describes some illuminated books from the collection of the sixteenth-century collector Claude Gouffier. Karl Schottenloher gives an account of the collection of Otto Heinrich, Elector Palatine, based on the surviving catalogues compiled in 1556 and 1566, and of his interests, as reflected in his collection and in the epistles prefixed to works dedicated to him.

The volume, which closes with a tribute to Dr. Adolph Tronnier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his joining the staff of the Gutenberg Museum, and with the extremely satisfactory fiftieth annual report of the Gesellschaft, is, as ever, a model of book design and production. Were it the only benefit conferred by membership of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, the subscription would be cheap.

DEREK A. CLARKE

*Brotherton Library,
The University of Leeds*

KORAY, ENVER. *Türkiye Tarih Yayınları Bibliyografyası, 1729-1950*. Ankara, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1952. xii, 548 pp. 9½ x 6½ inches.

Enver Koray, chief of the Arabic Script Cataloging Department of the Turkish National Library, has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of all historical writings published in Turkey from the beginning of Turkish printing (1729) to the present. There are 4,123 numbers in the bibliography, including books and periodicals (all articles in a single issue grouped under one number). Publications in western European languages as well as in Turkish are included, if they are published in Turkey; and translations of foreign historical works into Turkish are listed.

There are two major divisions in the bibliography, viz., books in Arabic script (published between 1729 and 1928) and books in Roman script (published since 1928). Within each of these divisions there are three sections: (1) general subjects (including periodicals, encyclopedias, and world histories); (2) Turkish writings on the history of various nationalities, arranged alphabetically by the name of the country; and (3) auxiliary disciplines (biography, archaeology, ethnology, numismatics, etc.). The index covers authors, subjects, and titles in a single alphabet. Individual entries are meticulously accurate, with full information on authors, titles, imprints, series, and sizes insofar as it is available. In the case of many pamphlets and older printed works full bibliographical information was not available without research which the compiler was unable to conduct.

The basic purpose of listing all historical works published in Turkey is admirably fulfilled, although it is a sad commentary that no single Turkish library owns most of these books at present, nor is any one likely to unless it is the rapidly growing, well administered National Library (founded 1948). This bibliography is also valuable as a guide to Ottoman and Near Eastern history, although it must be remembered that there are thousands

of uncatalogued manuscripts in the libraries of Istanbul, the Turkish provinces, and other parts of the old Ottoman Empire which are essential for Turkish history. Moreover, one glance at Kingsley Birge's *A Guide to Turkish Area Study* (1949) will reveal clearly that western European material cannot be overlooked by any serious student of Turkish history.

Enver Bey's work is a significant milestone in the development of modern Turkish bibliography. His work may properly serve as a model for similar endeavors in other fields.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

University of Kentucky

OLDHAM, J. BASIL. *English Blind-Stamped Bindings*. Cambridge (England), University Press; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952. 61 plates. xiii, 74 pp. 15 x 10 inches. \$27.50.

Samuel Sandars, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, who died in 1894, left by his will the sum of £2,000 for the endowment of a Readership in Bibliography. Since acceptance of the bequest, a list of distinguished publications, based on the lectures delivered, has enriched the life of student and scholar. More recently, three lectures on English Blind-Stamped Bindings by J. Basil Oldham, librarian and late assistant master of Shrewsbury School, and Sandars Reader in Bibliography in the University of Cambridge, 1949, were put into book form and published most handsomely by the Cambridge University Press under the supervision of Mr. Brooke Crutchley, the University Printer.

Mr. Oldham, no newcomer in the field of binding history and description of book bindings, here confines himself to the ornament classification of the blind-stamped bindings of England from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, omitting all English panel stamps as they have been treated already by G. D. Hobson in his *Blind-Stamped Panels in the English Book-Trade*, and also omitting all Romanesque bindings, preceding that period. He did undertake an arduous task when with paper and pencil in hand he set out collecting rubbings of the bindings which seemed to him to fall within the sphere of his interest. Later, he sorted the rubbings; identified and classified tools and binders; worked up a system of classification and identification helpful for the "dating and localising" (*sic*) of bindings.

In the course of his lectures, the author developed the method which

he proposed, and gave sufficient examples to prove the validity of his system. We follow him through methods of localization, recording of changes in binding practice between one country and another, between one shop and another. We read his descriptions of tools employed by the binders, either known by name, by initials, or remaining anonymous, in the binding centers of Cambridge, Oxford, and London. It is in the identification of unsigned rolls and individual ornamental tools that Mr. Oldham enters upon unknown paths. With decisiveness and not without a lilt in his heart, he accounts for many new groups of bindings that may be attributed to particular craftsmen or binderies, and he christens anonymous masters according to the tools they used. We have great pleasure in thus meeting the Unicorn Binder, the Demon Binder, the Lattice, the Heavy, and the Pre-Unicorn Binder; The Monster Binder, the Greyhound Binder, the Dragon, and the Bat Binder—all proof of the diversity of their tools, steeped in medieval symbolism or in sheer delight in iconographic representation of their time. Students of the graphic arts will not be surprised to learn that most of the men who designed these binding tools, or who cut the tools after furnished designs (or perhaps did both), were probably the same craftsmen who engraved the English seals of the period, as well as other duplicable graphic material. It appears that some were real artists, others merely copyists. Only in one case does Mr. Oldham suggest that a particular roll, appearing on a binding in York Minster, is attributable to a master-designer, Hans Holbein. In his *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Konrad Haebler referred to this roll which shows a number of medallion portraits of reformers such as Erasmus, Luther and Melanchthon. One of the heads contains the initials H.H. next to it, identified by Haebler as Hans Huss, but Mr. Oldham rightly points out that Huss's name on rolls always appears as Johannes, "moreover the portrait is not in the least like Huss and is exactly like Holbein (who did also sign a book border with his initials)."

Mr. Oldham's appendix, "Classification of Rolls and Ornaments," as well as the 61 collotype plates will be of untold use to those in need of binding identification, as will be the detailed glossary of terms. One wishes to disagree heartily with the author's modesty when he says that "if these lectures have left you with the impression that this study involves a mass of inconsistent facts, a series of insolvable problems, a maze of paths leading in different directions and ending nowhere. . . . I am inclined to think that you are not too far from wrong." This reviewer who is blessed with the handling of bindings during his working hours and who has

used Mr. Oldham's book to satisfaction, not only disagrees but he wishes to thank the author for the courageous pioneer work in a field in which knowledge, the study of documents, and conjecture must each take its place.

KARL KUP

Spencer Collection

The New York Public Library

GILL, EVAN R. *Bibliography of Eric Gill*. London, Cassell, 1953. Illus. xv, 224 pp. 10 x 7 inches. 6s.

Even though the early part of his career was contemporary with Wilde and Beardsley, Eric Gill (1882-1940) was not influenced by either. Instead, his artistic credo and social philosophy were more consonant with tenets of William Morris, the proponent of the Arts and Crafts movement. His ideals and aesthetics were clearly set forth in his writing, always colored by his personal point of view. He touched upon such diverse topics as religion and morals, economics and politics, and art and architecture. Believing that designer and craftsman should be one, he denounced the practice of one man's design being executed by another, particularly the clay model of one being translated into marble by another. A prolific artist, Gill was active in several branches of the arts. As a book illustrator he eschewed sensationalism for sensibility; as a typographer, lavishness for legibility; as a sculptor, piquancy for profundity; and as an author, superficiality for sincerity—aspects at variance with *fin de siècle* influences.

The compiler cites works by and about his brother, and works to which the latter contributed. The book is organized in five parts: "Books, Pamphlets, etc., Written by Eric Gill"; "Books, Periodicals, etc., to which Eric Gill was a Contributing Author"; "Books and Other Publications Illustrated by Eric Gill"; "Books, Journals, etc., Containing Criticism of or Reference to his Work"; and "Miscellanea." An appendix, postscript, title index, and author and title index conclude the work. The appendix lists wood engravings of Gill created between 1934 and 1940, supplementing the second iconography of his engravings published by Faber and Faber in 1935, which in turn was preceded by the first iconography published by Douglas Cleverdon in 1929.

The *Bibliography* is international in scope and possibly selective rather than complete, although the preface is somewhat ambiguous regarding

this point. Random checking shows a few omissions: no reference is made to a review of *Beauty Looks After Herself* (entry no. 24) published in *Parnassus*, VIII (April, 1936), 32; nor to Hilary Douglas Pepler's "Gill in Ditchling," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXX (June, 1949), 48-59. Where an error in a citation occurs it is, possibly, typographical rather than bibliographical. The pagination of Nicolette Gray's article titled "William Morris, Eric Gill and Catholicism," *Architectural Review*, LXXXIX (March, 1941), 61-62, is omitted, for example.

The book was printed in Gill's Perpetua types in an edition of a thousand copies, and illustrated with reduced reproductions of selected title-pages designed by the artist. For the typophile, print curator, aesthete, art and architectural historian, and historian of book arts particularly will the bibliography be significant, since the definitive treatment of this prolific artist has not yet appeared.

LYLE F. PERUSSE

School of Architecture Library
University of Minnesota

KIMBER, SIDNEY A., compiler. *Cambridge Press Title-pages, 1640-1665. A Pictorial Representation of the Work done in the First Printing Office in British North America*. Privately printed. Takoma Park, Maryland, Walter L. Kimber, [c1954]. 123 pp. facsimis. 11¼ x 8¼ inches.

The first entry under 1639 in John Winthrop's *Journal* reads:

A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye at the charge of Mr Glover who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath, the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr. Peirce, mariner—the next was the psalms newly turned into metre.

This brief statement, from the pen of the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, summarizes in a few words the history of the establishment of the first printing press in British North America. "The psalms newly turned into metre" is, of course, the famous *Bay Psalm Book* of 1640, the first book printed in this country, and the earliest surviving example of Stephen Daye's press.

Since the publication in 1790 of Winthrop's *Journal*, the establishment of the Cambridge press and the output of its early years have been the subject of many books and articles. It remained for Mr. Sidney A. Kimber to have the happy idea of bringing together in one volume a pictorial

record of the early years of the press. This privately printed volume contains (with one exception) facsimiles of the title pages of all of the extant productions of the Cambridge press during the first twenty-five years of its activity. These reproductions include broadsides such as the Harvard *Theses*, which are reproduced in entirety, usually on a reduced scale. In the case of the *Bay Psalm Book*, several specimen pages are also reproduced to show the different types used.

Each reproduction is accompanied by a descriptive note, as well as by the size, collation, and location of copies. Usually all the known copies are given, apparently in most cases based on George Parker Winship's *A Preliminary Check List of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Imprints, 1638-1692* (Boston, 1939). In a few instances omissions have occurred, as in the case of Richard Mather's *The Summe of Certain Sermons*, 1652 (p. 35), which Mr. Kimber locates only at the Library of Congress. Both Winship's *Check List* and Thomas J. Holmes's *The Minor Mathers* (no. 55) locate additional copies in the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

An error in Holmes's *Minor Mathers* with regard to *A Platform of Church Discipline*, 1649, is repeated here (p. 28). The New York Public Library copy has the variety of the title-page with the swash italic *G* in "Gathered," and the imprint: "Printed by S G at Cambridge . . ." rather than the ordinary italic *G* and the imprint: "Printed at Cambridge by S G . . ." as in the John Carter Brown copy.

Under John Fiske's *The Watering of the Olive Plant*, 1657 (p. 49), Mr. Kimber notes that "the Livermore copy in the New York Public Library is probably unique." Apparently through inadvertence this note was retained when the book went to press, since Mr. Kimber also locates a copy in the Boston Public Library. The latter copy was not recorded by Winship, but Mr. Zoltán Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books, has informed the writer that the location is correct, and that the volume was acquired in 1908. Both Winship and Evans (no. 104) locate a copy of Alexander Nowell's *Almanack* for 1665 in the American Antiquarian Society, but Mr. Kimber notes only the Library of Congress copy.

A few typographical errors which escaped the proofreader include one in the note to Charles Chauncy's *Gods Mercy*, 1655 (p. 41), concerning the removal of Henry Dunster from the presidency of Harvard College for "anti-pseudo baptism." This is a misprint for "antipaedobaptism," the doctrine opposing infant baptism, one of the deeply controversial issues of seventeenth-century New England.

An unexplained omission is an undated broadside which has been assigned to the Cambridge press, 1665, by Evans (no. 98), Roden (1664?) and Winship. This is Governor Richard Nicolls' *The Conditions for New-Planters in the Territories of His Royal Highnes [sic] the Duke of York*, known by a unique copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society. George Parker Winship, in his *The Cambridge Press* (1945) speaks of this broadside as "from many points of view the most significant piece of printing that had appeared in English America . . . This appeal to homesteaders, who had begun to trickle across the Hudson River while the Dutch were in possession, ought to have emanated from Manhattan Island, but it is possible that Governor Nicholls [sic] had sent an agent to Boston to arrange for stimulating the westward movement by having this broadside printed." However, since Governor Nicolls himself was in Boston in May, 1665, as head of a royal commission to New England, he may well have arranged personally for its printing.

Mr. Kimber has added to his volume some helpful notes about the types used by the Cambridge press, and has reproduced separately the few ornaments which the press employed, mainly for borders and head-pieces. In an appendix he has listed twenty American libraries with their holdings of the extant Cambridge imprints from 1640 to 1692. This is an extremely useful and easily consulted list showing, in short-title form, the locations of the known copies of the Cambridge press imprints for the 52 years of its existence. In issuing *Cambridge Press Title-pages* Mr. Kimber has performed a distinct service to students and custodians of early American printing, and his compilation makes available a graphic supplement to Evans, Roden and Winship.

LEWIS M. STARK

The New York Public Library

AUSTIN, JAMES C. *Fields of The Atlantic Monthly: Letters to an Editor 1861-1870*. San Marino, California, The Huntington Library, 1953. xi, 445 pp. 9¼ x 6¼ inches. \$6.00.

Some day there will be a book devoted to the question, What makes a great editor? Today such a question merely provokes ancillary inquiries. Was Edgar Allan Poe a great editor? He improved the circulation of three magazines, but did he make the reputation or increase the skill of any writer save himself? Were E. L. Godkin and Henry Mencken great editors? They infused their own vitality into their contributors, but does

a great editor stamp his personality and style on his authors? Was William Dean Howells one of the élite? Can one be as prudish as was Howells and still be the emancipator that a great editor should be, no matter whom he discovers or develops? Did any one of the editors so far enumerated have any real typographical sense or affection for the printed page? Mencken's *Mercury* was well designed and well printed, but it is clear that the credit here should go to Alfred A. Knopf, the publisher, for Mencken on *Smart Set* had been content with something that was neither "smart" in appearance nor well "set" from the printer's point of view. Was Maxwell Perkins a great editor? He was as solicitous as Poe was suspicious; he discovered and encouraged a great variety of talents; but should he have allowed his house to lose the novelist on whom he had lavished most effort? Should he have been quite so persuasive in feeding unknowns into *Scribner's Magazine*, thereby possibly contributing to that periodical's demise?

I raise and leave unanswered these ancillary questions, because Mr. James T. Austin in his otherwise admirable book, *Fields of The Atlantic Monthly* does not even pose the primary question but serenely assumes Fields's greatness. This is the more singular in that Mr. Austin provides some of the materials for challenging any such assumption. Fields allowed himself to be bullied by Harriet Beecher Stowe and accepted some very wretched stuff from her; it was his good luck to have been in England when her notorious attack on Lord Byron appeared in the magazine's pages and his assistant editor had to take the opprobrium attached to it, though there is nothing to show that Fields himself would have rejected the article. Fields discovered no major writers as editor of the magazine; he used the *Atlantic* largely to promote the established authors whom Ticknor and Fields had already secured, and he sought to bind his contributors by exclusive contracts. His scattered letters reveal a commonplace, pedestrian, humdrum mind; only his exchanges with Hawthorne produced letters even of interest. He seems to this doubtlessly prejudiced critic less of an editor than either his predecessor, James Russell Lowell, or his successor, William Dean Howells (both of whom Austin somewhat condescends to), and far less of a man.

But whatever Fields was, he was for a time at the helm of the foremost literary magazine in America, and all the great corresponded with him, wrote for him, and did business with him. The record, though not complete, is one of the greatest consequence, and Mr. Austin with infinite patience and perseverance has put it all in order for us and made it as

complete, perhaps, as it will ever be. The core of his book is what remains of the correspondence of his contributors, supplemented by his available replies or quotations from his replies; but the core is not the bulk of the book. That consists of the setting which Mr. Austin has supplied for the exchanges, worked out with infinite scholarly detail. Here the possibility for error is simply enormous, but so far as I can discern, Mr. Austin has avoided every pitfall, and has given us what must be the final account of Fields's relations with the contributors to the *Atlantic* during his editorship. Completeness such as *Fields of The Atlantic Monthly* displays is rare in the work of young American scholars—I can think of less than half a dozen examples of it—and here it is a product of tutelage and emulation, as well as of self-discipline and industry, perception and sensibility. Mr. Austin's mentor in this work is Professor Lyon Richardson, of Western Reserve University, well known for the scholarly thoroughness of his own magazine studies. That the work of the student recalls the work of the mentor is the finest proof of perpetuation of good scholarship.

OSCAR CARGILL

New York University

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the PAPERS:

In Mr. Yates's excellent article on the *Spirit of the Times* (PAPERS, 48 [1954], 117-148), he does a fine job in reconstructing the early history of that periodical from the handful of surviving issues available to him. After his article was in print, the American Antiquarian Society acquired an almost complete file of the *Spirit of the Times* from December 10, 1831, to November 17, 1832, and of the *Traveller* from December 1, 1832, to September 14, 1833. These provide the means of solving a few of Mr. Yates's problems, and reveal many additional contributions of literary value.

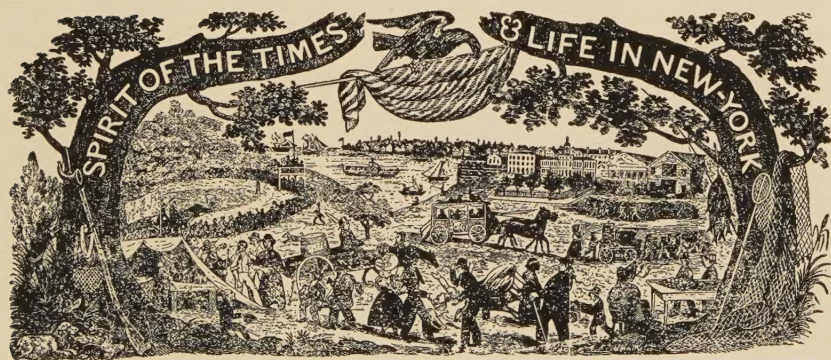
The earliest issue is entitled *Spirit of the Times & Life in New-York*, December 10, 1831, Vol. 1, No. 1, published by William T. Porter and James Howe. It carries an elaborate masthead, full width of the page, showing various sporting scenes. With the issue of March 3, 1832, Vol. 1, No. 12, the publishing firm became William T. Porter & Co. To emphasize their increased interest in racing, a new cut was adopted for the masthead, showing only a race-horse, with elaborate scroll work carrying the title. The publishers stated, however, that their interest in all other sports would not be diminished. With the issue of November 10, 1832, Vol. 1, No. 48, William T. Porter & Co., signing themselves as William T. Porter and Thomas W. Renne, and dating the sale as November 3, sold out the paper to James D. Armstrong whose name appeared as publisher of the issue of November 17, 1832, Vol. 1, No. 49. The file of the *Spirit of the Times and Life in New-York* contains the issues of December 10, 1831, February 4-18, March 3, 24, August 25, September 8-22, October 6-27, November 10, 17, 1832.

With the issue of December 1, 1832, Armstrong sold out the paper to Hunt & Adams (Freeman Hunt and John J. Adams), former proprietors of the *New-York Traveller*. The new publishers changed the title to *The Traveller: Spirit of the Times and Life in New-York*, by using the old masthead under the title, *The Traveller*. They also engaged William

T. Porter to resume the management of the sporting department of the paper. The volume numbering of December 1, 1832, was "Traveller," Vol. 1, No. 40, and "Times," new series, Vol. 1, No. 51. With the issue of February 2, 1833, the publishers absorbed *Porter's Family Journal*, changing the title to *The Traveller, Family Journal, and Spirit of the Times and Life in New-York*, retaining the old masthead as formerly. With the issue of March 16, 1833, Hunt & Adams sold out to Charles J. B. Fisher. With the issue of June 22, 1833, Mr. Fisher admitted John Inman to the firm, which became Fisher & Inman. The last issue in this early volume is September 14, 1833, Vol. 2, Whole No. 146, of *The Traveller & Spirit of the Times*. The file of *The Traveller* contains the issues of December 1-22, 1832; January 12-March 30, April 27-May 25, June 8-July 27, August 10, 24, 31, September 14, 1833.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Director*

*American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.*



PORTER & HOWE, Editors and Proprietors.

"AS A STRANGER, GIVE IT WELCOME."

Published on Saturdays, at 22 Nassau Street.

VOLUME I.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 4, 1832.

NUMBER 8.

